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DANIEL HOUGH,
Indianapolis, Ind.

A

MISSION TO THE INDIANS,

FROM THE

INDIAN COMMITTEE

OF

BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING,

TO

FORT WAYNE, IN 1804.

WRITTEN AT THE TIME, BY

GERARD T. HOPKINS.

WITH AN APPENDIX, COMPILED IN 1862,

BY MARTHA E. TYSON.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. ELLWOOD ZELL,
Nos. 17 and 19 South Sixth Street.
1862.

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JOURNAL.

Many of my friends having been solicitous for the privilege of a perusal of the minutes I preserved in the course of my late visit to the Western Indians, I have been induced to devote a small portion of leisure time to the purpose of attempting such an arrangement of them, as would convey, intelligibly, both the route we took, and the various circumstances attending upon our journey.

The judicious reader will doubtless make proper allowances for the difficulty there is in composing an entertaining diary over that of a history, where circumstances are not necessarily confined to day and time.

As a suitable introduction to my Journal, I deem it proper to insert the following letter. It will serve to show the intercourse which had previously taken place between the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting and some of the Indian chiefs of the Western tribes.

"*The Little Turtle's Town, Sept.* 18*th*, 1803.

"From the Little Turtle, The Five Medals, and others, to Evan Thomas, George Ellicott, and others.

"*Brothers and Friends of our hearts*,—We have received your speech from the hand of our friend, Wm. Wells, with the implements of husbandry, that you were so kind to send to his care,—all in good order.

"Brothers, it is our wish that the Great Spirit will enable you to render to your Red Brethren that service which you appear to be so desirous of doing them, and which their women and children are so much in need of.

"Brothers, we will try to use the articles you have sent us, and if we should want more, we will let you know it.

"Brothers, we are sorry to say that the minds of our people are not so much inclined towards the cultivation of the earth as we could wish them.

"Brothers, our Father, the President of the United States, has prevented our traders from selling liquor to our people, which is the best thing he could do for his Red Children.

"Brothers, our people appear dissatisfied, because our traders do not, as usual, bring them liquor, and, we believe, will request our Father to let the traders bring them liquor, and if he does, your Red Brethren are all lost forever.

"Brothers, you will see, from what we have

said, that our prospects are bad at present, though we hope the Great Spirit will change the minds of our people, and tell them it will be better for them to cultivate the earth than to drink whiskey.

"Brothers, we hope the Great Spirit will permit some of you to come and see us,—when you will be able to know whether you can do anything for us or not.

"Brothers, we delivered you the sentiments of our hearts, when we spoke to you at Baltimore,* and shall say nothing more to you at present. We now take you by the hand, and thank you for the articles you were so kind to send us.

"Signed,

"THE LITTLE TURTLE, *Miami Chief.*

"THE FIVE MEDALS, *Potowatamy Chief.*"

This letter having claimed the solid consideration of the Committee on Indian Affairs, at a meeting held in the city of Baltimore, the 6th of 2d month, 1804, the following conclusion and minute was, at that time, the result of their deliberations:

"The subject of a visit to the Indians, agreeably to the desire they express in the aforegoing letter, being solidly considered, the Committee are united in judgment, that a visit to them at this time would be the most likely means of ob-

*See Appendix.

taining a knowledge of the disposition they are in, and enable Friends to ascertain what would be the best course to pursue to be useful to them. The following Friends are therefore nominated to that service, and requested to proceed in the visit as soon as convenient, to wit: George Ellicott, Gerard T. Hopkins, Joel Wright, and Elisha Tyson.

"They are also authorized to take one or more suitable persons with them to reside amongst the Indians, to instruct them in agriculture and other useful knowledge, if there should appear to be a prospect of such an establishment being beneficial to them."

My name having been entered upon the minute, and thus placed upon this very interesting appointment, was to me a subject of much thoughtfulness and exercise; and believing finally that the peace of my own mind was concerned in a passive submission to the judgment of my friends, I accordingly made provision for the journey, and on the 23d of the 2d month, 1804, left my home; first witnessing those sensations due to human nature, in an affectionate farewell to my family connexions and friends; rode to Ellicott's Mills, and joined my friend, George Ellicott, from whence we proceeded on our journey; taking with us Philip Denis, a member of our Society, who has concluded to accompany us, for the purpose of residing with the Indians, in order to instruct them in agriculture; reached Brooke-

ville, and lodged at Caleb Bentley's—making 27 miles. The weather cold, with some snow. Nothing remarkable occurred, except that, in crossing a miry glade, my horse fell and threw me; neither of us received a hurt.

2d mo. 24th. Bade farewell to my relatives and connexions at Brookeville, and rode to Nowland's Ferry—28 miles—a very muddy and cold day. The high wind preventing us from crossing the Potomac river, we rode to the house of George Lepley, a neighboring farmer, where we found good accommodations, and were kindly entertained.

25th. Crossed the Potomac early this morning, passed over the Catoctin mountain, taking the village of Waterford in our way; thence through the gap of the Short Hill, over the Blue Ridge to Warmsley's Ferry over the Shenandoah river; thence across the Shenandoah to the house of our friend, John McPherson, a distance of 29 miles. This day's journey has been highly entertaining; mountain rising above mountain, and farm above farm, till we reached the summit of the Blue Ridge, from whence a most extensive and beautiful prospect of the country, both on the east and west side of the mountain, was full in view. From the top of this commanding eminence, we were the spectators of a beautiful natural scene. A cloud, small in its appearance, passing nearly upon a level with our elevation, cast its shadow upon the

Goose Creek settlement below, for several miles in extent. The precise shape of the cloud, with all its indentations, was visible in the shadow; the indentations bearing the same enlarged proportions, with the shadow, to the cloud.

An extraordinary deceptibility in human vision is evident, in a view of the Shenandoah river, from the summit of the Blue Ridge. The river, in the estimation of some of our company, did not appear to be further from us than the distance of half a mile, and it proved to be not nearer than three or four miles.

26th. Passed across the Shenandoah valley, a body of excellent limestone land. This valley is several hundred miles in length, and generally from 20 to 25 miles in width, lying between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountains. Many parts of it retain to this day the name of barrens, though now heavily timbered, being, at the time the land was taken up, covered with scrubby bushes. On our way we crossed a small river called the Opekon,—and it being the first day of the week, we attended the Ridge Meeting of Friends, after which we spent the remainder of the day, and lodged at night, at the house of our friend, David Lupton, at the foot of the North Mountain,—having travelled 18 miles. One of our horses faltered this morning, having been too well fed at last night's quarters.

27th. This day travelled 31 miles, and lodged

at Clayton's Ordinary,* having crossed the North Mountain, Timber Ridge, Sandy Ridge and Capon Mountain; also forded Great Capon river and North river. Our road led us through several long and narrow valleys, which were well timbered and rich; we have also passed large tracts of mountainous, uncultivated, and doubtless never to be cultivated land. It is said deer are very plenty in the tract through which we have passed to-day, but none were discovered by us. Upon some of the mountains, and also in the valleys, we observed a few tolerably well-looking farms; we have also noticed several small sugar camps in the course of this day's journey.

28th. Continued our journey,—forded the Little Capon river, the south branch of Potomac, Patterson's creek, and the north branch of Potomac. We also travelled over Little Capon Mountain, South Branch Mountain and North Branch Mountain, passing through Springfield, Frankford and Cresapsburg villages, reaching Musselman's tavern, near the foot of the Alleghany Mountains; making a journey of 37 miles.

A snow has been falling for some hours upon the remains of a former snow ten inches in depth. Our journey to-day has been very entertaining, notwithstanding the severity of the

*An Ordinary, is another name for a house affording indifferent entertainment.

weather, and the danger at this time attendant, on climbing up and descending precipices.

There is much in a journey over these mountains to puzzle, as well as amuse, the naturalist. Many extraordinary natural curiosities have fallen under our observation, in the diversified appearance of mountains, rocks and valleys. We have passed to-day the most ponderous, craggy and over-jutting rocks we have heretofore met with, many of which were elevated several hundred feet above our heads, and seemed to threaten us with impending danger; which was not a little magnified, in our apprehensions, from observing vast bodies of rock, which had evidently tumbled from their lofty summits into the valleys. Had we been disposed to indulge fancy, we might have figured to ourselves, in a view of these rude mountains of rocks, many of those descriptions met with in Roman, Greek or Egyptian history, of amphitheatres, obelisks, pyramids, &c. &c.; whilst many others exhibited such regular, wavy appearances, interspersed alternately with oaks and pines, and soil of various hues, as seemed to challenge the painter with his diversified shades of coloring. And could we have observed here goats, white bears and reindeer, with now and then a human being clothed in skins and furs, and with weather a little colder, we might, perhaps, have been led to suppose ourselves in Lapland. A few settlements are made in this tract, which are mostly

in the valleys. Deer are said to be very numerous upon these mountains—several were seen by us. We also observed seats erected in the branches of the trees by the hunters, twenty feet in height, being concealed stations for the purpose of shooting deer at the Salt Licks. We have also seen several flocks of turkeys and pigeons in vast numbers.

29th. Travelled thirty miles upon the Alleghany Mountains, and at night lodged at Smith's Ordinary. We have to-day passed through land heavily timbered, tolerably level, and said to be rich and clear of stone; of this, the snow prevented us from judging. We also crossed over that part of the Alleghany ridge which divides the eastern and western waters of our continent—the streams all bearing a right hand direction. Near this part of the mountain, our road led us through the most beautiful and lofty forest of spruce and pine I ever saw. This forest is called the Shades. The trees are generally from 108 to 180 feet in height, many of them without a limb for 100 feet in height, with a body not more than 12 inches in diameter at the surface of the earth.

We also forded one of the branches of the Youghiogany river, called the Little Crossings. The principal ridges which we passed are called by the mountaineers the Back-bone Ridge, (from its sharp elevation,) the Winding Ridge and the Negro Mountain. On inquiring into the origin

of the name of the latter, we were informed, that many years ago, a white man and a negro who were hunting together, accidentally fell in with an Indian upon this ridge who was armed; both the negro and the Indian betook themselves to trees, presented their guns at each other, and fired at the same moment, and both fell dead. Their images are cut upon the trees behind which they fell, as a memento of the circumstance. The ridge has ever since been called the Negro Mountain.

Deer and turkies are numerous upon these mountains. The hunters have in many places erected seats, as heretofore described, for the purpose of shooting deer.

Over the greater part of our journey to-day we have found snow two feet in depth. A tolerable track is however beaten for us by a description of pedlars, who pass by the name of Packers. These people carry on a considerable trade between the Redstone settlements and Winchester, in Virginia, as also with several other villages in the western part of that State.

They take with them upon horses, bags of flax, which article they purchase at Redstone at a low price; this they dispose of at an advance, and in return carry salt, for which they are well paid at Redstone. It is not unusual to meet a Packer, having under his direction half a dozen loaded horses. These animals on meeting travellers, do not turn aside from the beaten path. We

were several times under difficulties in making our way through the snow on their account.

3d mo. 1st. This day we travelled thirty-six miles, passed through the villages Woodstack and Uniontown, and after night reached the house of our friend, Jonah Cadwalader, in the neighborhood of Redstone, Old Fort, and near the Monongahela river. On our way we passed a place called the Great Meadows, upon the Alleghany Mountains. This place is noted for an entrenchment, cast up by General Washington, then Colonel Washington, when retreating from a defeat given to a small force under his command, (near the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers,) history says by a much superior body of French and Indians. We also passed over the spot where Gen. Braddock was buried. His army of 1200 chosen men was defeated near Fort Du Quesne, in an unexpected attack by the Indians. We are told that the General and half this number were killed, and sixty-four out of eighty-five of his officers; of those who escaped was Washington, at the time Aid-de-Camp to General Braddock. The defeated army brought off their dead commander and buried him in the road, in order to elude the search of the Indians for his dead body.

It may be remarked that the land in the neighborhood of the Great Meadows is very level and the timber heavy, which indicates the goodness of the soil. A considerable body of

this land was owned by Washington at the time of his death.

This day's journey has been very disagreeable and cold, owing to a continued fall of snow. We greatly regretted that the clouds prevented a view of the Redstone settlements from the top of Laurel Hill, this being that part of the Alleghany Mountains from which a descent is made into the country below. From this commanding eminence the prospect, we are told, is beautiful beyond description.

Our disappointment, however, was in some measure recompensed by finding ourselves, when upon the top of this hill, not only above the clouds, but also so elevated in a cloud as to find the particles of snow resembling fog; a proof that large spits of snow, as they are called, acquire their size by an accumulation of particles on their way from the clouds to the earth. I may here mention, that the difficulties and fatigues of our journey thus far have been rendered light by the agreeable company of my brother-in-law, Thomas Moore, and our esteemed friend, Israel Janney, the former joining us at Brookeville, and the latter in the Shenandoah Valley. They are complying with an appointment by our late Yearly Meeting, in a visit to a Quarterly Meeting at Redstone.

From the 1st to the 8th of the month, we rested at Redstone, a rest useful to our horses as well as to ourselves. In the course of this

interval, we attended Redstone Quarterly Meeting. There were present several Friends from the State of Ohio, who reside upon a part of the tract of country called the Seven Ranges. They informed us that the Indian Chief, Tarhie,* a Wyandot of great distinction, with about one hundred hunters, mostly of the Wyandot nation, were hunting bears upon a branch of the Big Beaver, called Mahoning, within about twenty miles of their settlement, and that a fall of snow three feet in depth had placed them in a suffering condition, they not making provision at their camp for such an event. In this situation the Friends received the following letter from Tarhie.

"My dear Brothers, Quakers, listen to what I now say to you. You always called us Indians your brothers, and now, dear white brothers, I am in distress, and all my young men who are with me.

"Brothers, will you please to help me to fill my kettles and my horses' troughs, for I am afraid my horses will not be able to carry me home again.

"Neighbors, will you please to give, if it is

* This was Tarhie, (or the Crane,) Chief of the Wyandots, whom Evan Thomas, and other members of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, visited at Upper Sandusky, in the 6th month, 1799, and of which a report was published in that year. See Appendix.

but a handful a piece, and fetch it out to us, for my horses are not able to come after it.

"This is all I have to say at present.

"TARHIE.

"*To my Brothers, the Quakers.*"

About the time of the reception of this letter, some Friends, who resided nearest to their hunting camp, furnished them with a small supply of provisions, which occasioned a second letter from Tarhie, as follows:

"Brother Quakers, I have a few more words to say to you.

"Brothers, I want that you should all know what distress I am in.

"Brothers, I want you to know I have got help from some of my near neighbors.

"Brothers, I would be glad to know what you will do for me, if it is but a little.

"Brothers, if you cannot come soon, it will do bye and bye, for my belly is now full.

"Brothers, I hope you have not forgot our great fathers; when they first met, it was in friendship; we are of the same race.

"My Brothers, Quakers, I hope our friendship will last as long as the world stands. All I have to say to you now is, that I shall stay here until two more moons are gone. "TARHIE.

"*Addressed to my Brothers, the Quakers.*"

A considerable quantity of provisions were furnished by the Friends to these Indians, for

which they expressed great thankfulness. Tarhie himself divided the presents between man and man, making no difference for distinction in rank.

These Friends were informed by Tarhie, that several years ago he had sent a talk to the Indian Committee at Baltimore, accompanied by a belt of wampum, worth fifty dollars, and had long been waiting for an answer, but had not yet received one.

In consequence of this information, a conference was held at Redstone, between such of the members of the Indian Committee as could be convened there. The result was a request made to four Friends of the neighborhood adjacent to the Indian camp, to visit Tarhie, and inform him that his talk was not received by the Indian Committee, and that his belt of wampum never came to their hands. Also, if he had any thing now to say, he must write again to the Indian Committee.

During our stay at Redstone, we had an opportunity of seeing and admiring the richness of the land between the foot of the Alleghany Mountains and the Monongahela River. The people here seem to live in ease and plenty, and there is scarcely a plantation that does not afford stone coal and sugar trees. The coal is, I think, fully equal in quality to the best Liverpool coal, and is generally used for fuel in the place of wood; it being much easier and cheaper to pro-

cure a supply of coal, than to procure wood, notwithstanding that article is in great plenty here.

The sugar trees afford sugar in plenty to those who are sufficiently industrious to make it. Many families, we are told, make from five hundred to a thousand pounds, and others make from eighteen to twenty-five hundred weight, every spring. The trees do not appear to be injured by drawing off the sap. Molasses of excellent quality is also made from this tree, and also small beer, equal to any thing of the kind we met with at this place, produced from the sap.

Shall I say, a proof of the instability of the human mind, under the most bountiful supply of temporal blessings, is to be drawn from the present disposition of the inhabitants of Redstone? Blest with a country rich and fruitful, and possessing other great natural advantages, there is nevertheless a general feeling of discontent. The new country beyond the Ohio, lately opened for sale, has set the general mind afloat. We saw people who were well *settled*, and who some years ago, too, had passed the meridian of life, strongly affected with the prevailing *mania*.

9th. The river Monongahela not having yet risen, we are greatly disappointed in our wish and intention to take boat at Redstone for the mouth of the Miami of the Ohio. We have, therefore, no other alternative than to prosecute a long and doubtless fatiguing journey by land. This morning, whilst we were preparing to pro-

eed on our route, two young men arrived at our quarters, for the purpose of accompanying us; one of them a blacksmith, and a member of our Society, the other a carpenter, and a steady young man. They are under the pay of government, and have engaged to reside in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, to be employed for the benefit and instruction of the Indians. Previous to our leaving home, we had reason to expect that we should be overtaken by these young men, and were glad to have our expectations realized.

Again proceeding on our journey, we passed through Brownsville, a village on the Monongahela River; crossed over that river in a boat, and rode about twenty-six miles to Washington, an inland town. Our ride to-day has been through a very hilly country, tolerably rich, though badly watered. It is said that one of the first surveyors of this tract of country, when questioned respecting its general appearance, replied, "It is like a large meadow filled with stacks of hay." A comparison very apropos.

It is worthy of remark, that near Brownsville, on the Monongahela, are the remains of an old fortification, including several acres of ground. Mussel shells are yet very abundant within the intrenchment; and nearly opposite to the fortification are two fish pots extending quite across the river; they are made of stone, weighing generally from thirty to forty pounds. It is said that the Indians who resided near the spot at the time

of its discovery by the white men, had not even a traditional knowledge of the making of these fish pots, nor of the erection of the fortification.

This day, in passing along, my mind has been involved in much serious reflection on the importance of our mission. And I trust I have in no small degree felt the responsibility we are under, not to men only, but to the Great Author of all good, with an ardency not to be expressed, that we may indeed discharge the trust reposed in us, and perform the duty required of us with propriety.

10th. Travelled thirty-four miles, and after night were glad to reach the house of our friend Jonathan Taylor, in the State of Ohio; on our way we passed through the small villages of Taylorstown and West Liberty. The tract of country through which we have travelled is generally fertile and is mostly settled. In the course of this day's ride, it is observable that limestone is to be found on the tops of the highest hills, but is rarely found in the bottoms.

It may now be noted that the hills between the Monongahela and the Ohio rivers are generally of a very singular description, having two or three circular elevations, the surface of each elevation flat for the space of twenty-five to thirty feet in diameter. These flat appearances extend quite around the circumference of the hills, and seem to vie with art for regularity.

This day we crossed in a boat the great river

Ohio. On approaching it, I felt no small degree of awe. The slow and majestic movement of so vast a body of running water, added to the recollection of the blood which had been spilt relative to its shores, enforced the sensation. With what obstinacy the poor Indians resisted the designs of the white men in making settlements west of this river! Having been driven further and further westward, relinquished claim to tract after tract, they here made a stand, fixed in a resolve, hitherto ye may come, but no farther! This river shall be the boundary between us! It shall limit your encroachment! The resistance they made, and the blood which was spilt, sufficiently prove the reluctance with which they gave up the contest. The bottom upon the west side of the river where we crossed, which was at the junction of Short Creek, is very rich, but not wide. In this bottom we observed a mound of earth cast up to the height of fifteen feet, its diameter at the base forty-five feet, and said to be a burial place, but whether made by the Indians or not is not ascertained. It is said that two miles below this is a square fortification containing several acres of ground, enclosed by a bank of earth thrown up by art to the height of eight feet.

Along the east shore of the river great destruction was made a few years ago by a species of caterpillar which infested the trees. They fed upon the leaves, and thus killed trees of

enormous size. Their havoc extended for many miles along the river, and reached about seven or eight miles from the shore.

11th. This day being First-day, we rested ourselves and horses, and were glad to have an opportunity of attending a meeting of Friends, called Short Creek Meeting. A Monthly Meeting is lately established here by Redstone Quarterly Meeting. About forty Friends were at this meeting, and most of them were new settlers. The greater number had moved from North Carolina. The meeting was held in a log house or cabin, situated upon a beautiful hill, covered with lofty timber. The difficulties and inconveniences of a new settlement, are rendered the more easy and tolerable, where, as in the instance of these Friends, a number of families, by agreement, form a settlement in the same neighborhood. In the afternoon several of them visited us at our lodgings, and expressed sympathy with us in our undertaking.

12th. Proceeded on our journey; travelled thirty-one miles and reached Randallstown; part of the day has been rainy, and the riding very disagreeable. We have passed through a body of land heavily timbered and very rich. There are yet but few settlements made on this tract. The first settlers in this new country erect small log cabins, which they cover with split timber called puncheons; these they pin to the rafters

with wooden pins. Nails are rarely to be found in any part of the house. Their floors are hewn out of the timber, and pinned to the sleepers with wooden pins. They clear their land by killing the timber, which is done by girdling the trees, that is by cutting the bark around the trees to the wood. They then proceed to the cultivation of the soil, which produces them abundant crops.

It is a common practice with them to sow small grain upon the original surface, which is harrowed in, and such is the looseness and lightness of the soil, there seems but little necessity for the plough in raising the first crop of grain.

Our road led us across a water of the Ohio called Captena; also several streams belonging to a river called Stillwater; thus named from its slow, silent progress to the Muskingum.

13th. This day we travelled twenty-five miles and reached Beathe's Ordinary. We have had a very disagreeable day's ride. A continued fall of rain, hail, and snow, and the road very miry and fatiguing to our horses. The land through which we have passed not quite so good generally as that noted yesterday. We, however, saw considerable bodies of excellent land, particularly of bottoms. Some of them were of far greater extent than any we have heretofore met with, being heavily timbered and very rich. Scarcely a settlement has yet been made in this

tract; deer are very plenty here. It is to be remarked, that in riding the last fifty miles, we have scarcely seen one of any of the descriptions of the feathered tribes, except owls. Birds love to resort to the haunts of men.

Squirrels appear to be very numerous, and are mostly of a deep black color. In the notes made on crossing the Alleghany Mountains, I omitted to observe that the squirrels we saw there were mostly red, and less in size than the grey squirrels of Maryland. They are the most active squirrel I ever saw, and are called by the mountaineers the Chipparee Squirrel.

We this day crossed several of the branches of Will's Creek. This creek we understand derived its name from Will, a famous Indian, who formerly had a town upon its banks called Willstown.

14th. Travelled twenty-five miles, crossing in our way the main branch of Will's Creek and a water called Salt Creek; at night reached Zanesville, and lodged at M'Intire's tavern. This is a town lately laid out on the Muskingum river, opposite to the junction of Licking creek. Its situation is very level and handsome, and will doubtless command the trade of this new country. As we approached the Muskingum, our road led us upon a hill of about 200 feet elevation, upon which we rode for a distance of seven miles; both upon our right and left hand, were chains of hills about ten miles from us, in

view, bearing the same westerly direction, with that upon which we travelled. The appearance of these hills revived the recollection of the Blue Ridge, and its parallel mountains. Several mounds or burial places were to-day observed by us.

15th. This day we travelled thirty miles and lodged at a small hut called Trimble's.

We ferried the beautiful river Muskingum at Zanesville, where it is about 600 feet wide, rode through a tolerable tract of land, till we reached a creek called Jonathan's creek. From this creek to the end of this day's journey, a distance of twenty miles, we rode through land which we think preferable to any tract we have yet passed, being more level, the timber heavier and the soil very rich; many Germans are making settlements here. Several mounds fell under our observation to-day; we also saw many deer; seventeen of these were together in one wheat field.

16th. Rode thirty-two miles, and at night were permitted to lodge under a roof called Gray's. We passed through New Lancaster, a town lately laid out, and situated on the great Hock-hocking river, as it is called upon the maps. Its size greatly disappointed me; an active man may jump from one of its banks to the other at New Lancaster.

This town as well as the neighboring country, is being rapidly settled by Germans. During

our day's ride, the extraordinary beauty of the country, as well as the superior excellency of the land, excited our admiration. Now and then a prairie or natural meadow containing from fifty to two hundred acres, apparently a perfect level, having neither tree, shrub, stump, or stone, and the soil the deepest black I ever saw in any composition of earths, attracted our notice. These were surrounded by higher ground, covered with lofty timber, extending to the next prairie, and thus on till we reached a tract called the Piqua Plains. Here our admiration was afresh excited by a view of the most beautiful scenery we had yet met with. This tract is perfectly level; it is situated upon the Scioto river, is seven miles in length, and generally three miles in width, having neither tree, stone or shrub, and composed of the black earth above described; it is in part under cultivation. About the centre of the prairie is a circular mound of large diameter, and about forty feet in height, cast up by art. It is covered with lofty timber. The people who cultivate these plains find them to produce from eighty to one hundred bushels of Indian corn, and from forty to fifty bushels of wheat per acre. They plant corn at the distance of two and a half to three feet apart, having six to eight stalks in a hill.

In the course of this day's journey we have seen deer and turkeys in abundance, and for

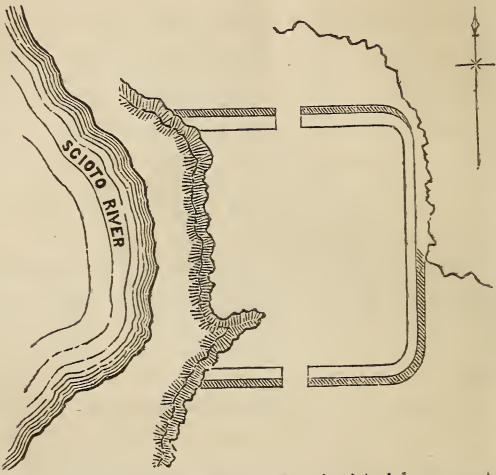
several days past have seen vast numbers of pigeons.

17th. Travelled fifteen miles and arrived at the town of Chilicothe, where we were well entertained at Tiffin's tavern. The governor of the State of Ohio resides here, who having heard of our arrival, paid us a visit in the evening and supped with us. We were pleased with his friendly affability. In the course of this day's short ride, our road led through a continuation of the finest lands.

It is remarkable that there are uniformly three gradations of elevation, from the banks of the Scioto river. The first is a bottom of about one mile in extent, very level and covered with black walnut, buck eye, blue ash, honey locust, and sugar trees. Then upon another elevation of about fifteen feet, a second bottom, which extends from one to two miles, covered with the same descriptions of timber, though heavier, and the trees standing nearer together. Then another elevation about the same height, which extends for many miles, being a little inclined to hills; the timber composed of a great variety. People are settling fast upon this tract, and several mills are already erected upon a creek belonging to the Scioto, which we crossed, called the Killakanik.

On our way we turned aside from our road to view an ancient fortification. This fortifica-

tion is on the Scioto bottom adjacent to the river, and is shaped thus.



Ancient Fortification on Scioto River. A pictorial representation of this Indian antiquity has been published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. 1, plate xviii.

The bank of earth thrown up around the fortification is about six feet high, surrounded by a ditch upon the outside, now four feet in width, and as many in depth. The bank is covered with lofty timber, as is also the ground within the intrenchment. There are several mounds such as have heretofore been described in the vicinity, and within the town of Chilicothe there is another fortification of which the diameter is about 450 feet. Near this is the largest mound

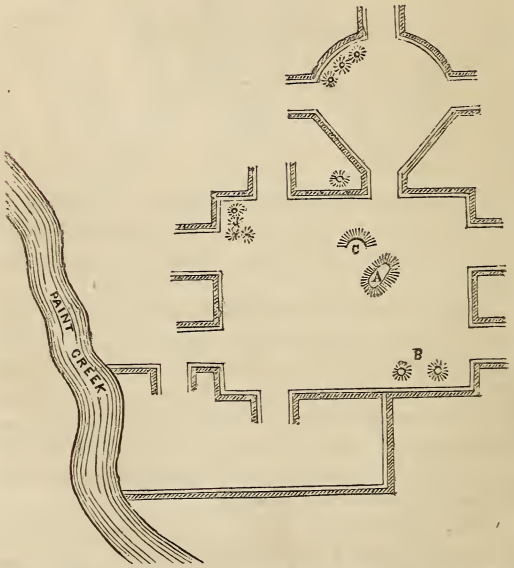
we have seen, being 100 feet in diameter, and thirty feet in height, and is a globular figure of great regularity. Three miles below the town of Chilicothe, and between the Scioto and Paint Creek, and near their junction, is a fortification of the following figure:

The banks of this ancient work are about six feet in height. The eight small circles opposite the openings or gates are mounds of considerable size.

I had omitted to mention, that on the east bank of the Scioto, nearly opposite Chilicothe, we measured to-day a sycamore tree which was sixteen feet in diameter. The tree is hollow, and measures thirteen feet across the hollow. New settlers have frequently encamped in this tree with their families, whilst they were making choice of land to settle upon.

18th. Proceeded upon our journey fifteen miles and lodged at Platter's tavern. On our way we passed many mounds. Several of them

were of the shape and size of the one described in the town of Chilicothe. Our attention was also arrested by the appearance of a bank thrown up at some distance from our road; on riding to it we found it to be a very extensive fortification. It is situated upon a level plain near Paint Creek, one of the waters of the Scioto river. As this is a work of great labor and curiosity, I shall be minute in my description and give the following figure.



Ancient Fortification on Paint Creek, near Chilicothe, containing within the embankments nearly one hundred acres.

The bank which is cast up for the fortification is now fully four feet in height, and thirty-three in width, at the base covered with lofty timber.

The figure marked (A) is a very regular oval mound 500 feet in diameter, from one extremity to another the longest way, and 300 feet in diameter the other way; perpendicular height is about thirty feet. This mound is paved over with stone, and has upon it trees of large size, as well as the remains of decaying trees, which after acquiring their full growth have fallen. The two circles marked (B) are very perfect globular figures. They are one hundred feet in diameter, and about thirty feet perpendicular height.

The remaining eight small circles represent mounds which are from eighty to one hundred feet in diameter, and from twenty-five to thirty feet perpendicular height, being also globular figures, and all covered with lofty timber. The semi-circle (C) is a bank of earth thrown up to the height of about three feet, its diameter about one hundred and fifty feet.

Near the outer banks of this extraordinary fortification are many large holes in the earth, at least one hundred feet in diameter, and of considerable depth. These are no doubt places out of which the earth was in part taken for making this work of labor.

The land through which we have passed to-day, is a continuation of a country, very level

and beautiful, being situated on Paint Creek; the soil, the same in appearance as that described yesterday, nothing seeming to indicate its superior richness, unless it be the size of its timber. The heaviest and most towering trees we have seen, we met with to-day. Our progress was impeded by our curiosity to take the girth of many of the trees; we measured white oaks which were from seven to eight feet in diameter; walnuts, six to seven feet four inches; elms, six to six feet eight inches; ash, five feet, and honey locusts four feet in diameter; the girths taken eight feet above the surface of the earth. These trees carried their thickness to an amazing height.

We also measured a few sycamore trees, and most of them were from eight to ten feet in diameter; one of the sycamores we measured which was eight feet in diameter, continued its thickness forty-five feet without a limb, its top very branching and large. While we were admiring it, Philip Dennis* suggested an opinion that this tree, could it be split into cord-wood after the common manner, would measure forty cords. At first we questioned the statement, but upon making a calculation, became convinced that his estimate was within bounds.

These were not trees singled out as the only monuments; we turned not aside to search for them, but measured such as fell under our own observation in passing over our road. It is more

than probable that there are trees in the same tract larger than any we saw. Few settlements are yet made here.

19th. Rode seventeen miles, and reached the residence of our friend William Lupton, upon Lee's Creek, one of the head waters of Paint Creek. Our road led us eight times across Paint Creek; passing a great part of the way through the bottoms of Paint Creek. The land the same in appearance as remarked yesterday. In the course of our ride, we saw many hundreds of poplars which were the more observable, as we have scarcely noticed a poplar since we crossed the Ohio. These trees are generally seven to eight feet six inches in diameter, many of them continuing their thickness for fifty feet in height, and very handsome and sound. On the bottoms we saw deer in abundance; they were so gentle as to allow us to pass by them quite within gun shot. They appeared to be busy in cropping the young grass. We have also observed several mounds and fortifications near the falls to Paint Creek, and others nearly adjacent of which the banks are about three and a half feet high.

Upon this Creek there are many beaver dams, and beavers are still caught here by the Indians. For several days past we have seen many hunting camps but no Indians. Several families of Friends have settled in this remote quarter of the Western Territory. They have

removed from Virginia and North Carolina, and expect to be followed by others. They tell us that an indulged meeting is held in one of their houses.

There is much to induce Friends of the Southern States, to remove to this new country; for, added to the consideration of the superior quality of the land, and the cheap and easy terms upon which it is to be purchased, there is an invaluable regulation in the Constitution of Ohio, prohibiting the introduction of slaves. The Constitution has also provided that no person within the State shall voluntarily relinquish his right to freedom. Its framers have even gone further; they declare that they have made these regulations to be binding both upon them and upon their posterity.

This truly valuable country is forbidden ground to the Virginia slave-holders. Many of them have approached as near to its borders as they have dared, by settling along the east shore of the Ohio river; their murmurs induced several persons in the State of Ohio, to offer themselves as candidates to the late State Legislature, declaring their determination to use their influence in obtaining an alteration in this part of the Constitution. We are told that on account of this avowal, they met with the most pointed and zealous opposition; the people declaring generally, that one of the inducements which led them to emigrate to the State, was the Constitu-

tional provision by which slavery was interdicted, and that any alteration therein would be an insupportable grievance.

20th. This day rode fifteen miles, and reached Hugh Evans's, upon Clear Creek, one of the head waters of the Rocky Fork of Paint Creek. The country through which we have passed is upland and lies level. The timber is heavy and much interspersed with blue ash, hackberry, walnut and sugar trees. There is scarcely a settlement yet made here.

21st. Our progress has been impeded for several days past, two of our horses belonging to our company having faltered. This day we concluded to rest them by continuing at the house of Hugh Evans, who is hearty and cheerful at seventy-four years of age, his wife equally so, and seventy-two years of age. The old man appears to make me welcome at his house, saying he knew my father, having early in life been his neighbor, and has made many inquiries after the families of the people who were his old acquaintance. He says he has six children, all of whom have married to his satisfaction, and that they lately removed with him from Kentucky, and are settled around him, each of them upon five hundred acres of land which he has given them. He says that it affords him great consolation now in the decline of life, to reflect that his acquisitions are the fruits of his honest industry.

22d. This day rode twenty-three miles, and lodged at Sewell's Cabin,—a day of snow and rain. We crossed the ridge which divides the waters of the Scioto from those of the Little Miami river. Passed several of the head branches of the latter, as also a considerable creek called the East Fork of the Little Miami. On one of the bottoms of the creek we noticed a fortification. The bank cast up around was about four feet high. We also observed within a few rods several mounds. It is truly a beautiful country through which we have passed to-day; the land is level, covered with lofty timber, and the soil very rich, scarcely a settlement yet made.

23d. Continued our journey, and after riding fourteen miles, reached the house of Samuel Linton, at Wainsville, upon the Little Miami river, where we were kindly received. At this place we rested ourselves and horses, acquired information respecting our future route, and equipped ourselves for the increasing difficulties of the wilderness.

The settlement made here is composed chiefly of Friends; about thirty families reside in this neighborhood. A Monthly Meeting is held here called Miami Monthly Meeting, to which about thirty families more belong who are scattered over an extensive tract of country.

Our attention was attracted to-day by the appearance of the stone, not only in the beds of

the rivers and creeks, but also upon the hills and in the valleys. They are limestone, and are composed altogether of marine shells. The stone when broken discovers the size and shape of the shells very perfectly.

These shells are of the same description with those I have formerly obtained from the banks of the Chesapeake Bay, in the lower part of the State of Maryland. It may be remarked, that no shell-fish of this description are at present to be found in any of the waters of our Continent.

The country west of the Ohio river through which we have passed is a limestone country, the very pebbles and even sand in many places are limestone.

Heretofore I have omitted to mention that in the neighborhood of Chilicothe, we amused ourselves with the earths and stones, which were dug out of the ground in sinking wells. There are several layers or strata of limestone, gravel, and sand, within a few feet of the surface of the earth. Some of the stones contain the above description of marine shells, and in breaking some of the large gravel we found appearances of the same shells. The stones as well as the gravel have evident marks of their having been washed with water, their shape inclining greatly to rotundity.

24th. Again proceeded upon our journey, and after riding eight miles reached Dayton, where we lodged. This town is newly laid out, situ-

ated upon the Great Miami river, nearly opposite to the junction of Still Water and Mad river, with the Miami, which is here about one hundred and sixty feet in width. We have passed to day the Ridge which divides the waters of the Little and Great Miami, and crossed several of the streams belonging to the Great Miami. The tract of country between the two, through which we have passed to-day, is of the most beautiful and desirable description. The land lies in waves of great regularity, is crossed with heavy towering timber, and the soil inexhaustibly rich. At Dayton were two block houses, which were erected by the white men, as places of retreat and defence against an attack by the Indians.

25th. Rode twenty-one miles, and reached a small village called Staunton, situated upon the Great Miami river. The country continues to exhibit a beautiful appearance, though the timber is not generally so heavy as noted yesterday. We passed several extensive and rich prairies, and forded Mad river a little above its mouth. The river derives its name from its swift current. We also crossed several streams belonging to the Great Miami.

26th. This day after riding fifteen miles, we reached Flinn's ordinary, where we were disappointed in finding no feed for our horses. We also received the information that there was no probability of our obtaining provision for them

short of Fort Wayne; we therefore despatched a part of our company to a house we had passed about four miles, in quest of corn. They obtained four bushels, and hired a man and horse to travel with us and bring the corn along. For many days past our horses have suffered for want of hay, and being fed altogether upon corn they have lost their appetites.

The face of the country in the course of this day's short journey is a continuation of beautiful land; being level, and finely timbered. We passed through a handsome prairie containing several hundred acres called the Lower Piqua Plain, crossed Honey Creek and Lost Creek, two considerable streams of the Great Miami.

Thus far in our route we have been favored with respect to the waters, no rain having fallen lately to raise the creeks and rivers to a height sufficient to detain us. In fording some of the streams we have thought that even six inches greater depth would take our horses off their feet. There is considerable danger in fording many of the streams we have passed, from the unevenness of the stony bottoms of the rivers. The beds of the rivers are mostly limestone, and being worn smooth by the washing of the water, horses are apt to fall. This was to-day the case with my horse in fording the Miami, from which accident I got very wet.

During our detention here this afternoon, we observed a flock of birds alighting from the trees,

different in appearance from any we had seen. Our landlord informed us they were parrots, and that they were common upon the Great Miami; and to gratify our curiosity he shot one. It was about the size of a dove, and its plumage resembled the green parrot of South America, the head red, and the wings tipped with the same color, the tail long and the bill and tongue of the same description as the chattering parrot. As they alighted from the trees, they made a hoarse noise resembling the chattering of the common parrot.

There is also a woodcock here resembling the red headed woodcock of Maryland, except that its head is black and its bill ivory.

At this place General Wayne erected a fortification when on his march against the Indians, a part of which is now standing. Our landlord occupies one of the houses which was at that time built and enclosed within the stockade. From the late period in the day at which our supply of corn arrived for the horses, we have concluded to remain at our quarters; the landlord tells us we shall be welcome to sleep upon his floor, and has promised to make us a good fire to sleep by.

This is a kind of lodgment to which we have become well accustomed, having heretofore in our journey often had to wrap ourselves in our blankets and to lie upon floors, always observing the necessary precaution of laying our feet to the fire; we have in no instance taken cold.

27th. This day rode fourteen miles, and on our way passed a larger prairie than the one we saw yesterday, which is called the Upper Piqua Plains. We have also passed a body of land heavily timbered, but its very level situation renders it not desirable. Through this tract we have found a very deep and miry road, and have regretted the necessity of a slow movement. Our hired man has to lead his horse, the bag of corn being too heavy for the horse to bear his weight also. We reached a place called Loramier's store, where we found a shelter and lodged, having through the latter part of the day rode through rain. On our way we twice crossed a considerable water of the Miami called Loramier's Creek.

At this place there is a very large fortification made by General Wayne called Fort Loramier. And here it is that the line of division between the white people and the Indians passes agreeably to the treaty of peace* between the Indians and General Wayne. I may here remark that for many days in passing along, we have observed hunting camps erected by the Indians, but no Indians in them.

It is probable they are at present at or near their towns. We have observed from day to day many curious, and to us unintelligible Indian hieroglyphics cut upon the trees. We have also been entertained in examining these figures, sometimes cut, at other times painted on the

* Treaty of Grenville, for which see Appendix.

wood after cutting away the bark, the figures of elks, the horns of the elk, the figures of buffaloes, bears, wolves, deer, raccoons, and various other wild beasts, and birds of different species; turtles and reptile creatures; also the representation of men, women and children, boys with bows and arrows shooting game, and men with their guns aiming at game, or in the act of pursuing it, &c. &c.

As a testimony in favor of the virtue and modesty of these men of the woods, I note, that we have not yet observed amongst this variety of figures, one unchaste representation.

28th. Rode twenty-two miles through a flat country, heavily timbered; at night we encamped in the woods, made a large fire, fared sumptuously upon wild pigeons, wrapped ourselves in our blankets and slept soundly. Our pigeons were shot by one of our company who carries a gun. There are at this time vast numbers of this fowl scattered over the woods. They breed here undisturbedly. Squirrels are also very numerous. We now and then see a few deer. They are not plenty here. Wolves, opossums, raccoons, and some other descriptions of wild game are abundant. We have not yet seen a bear, though they are very plenty throughout the region we have passed over. This is owing to a remarkable fact in the history of this creature. They betake themselves to dens in the holes of trees, at an early period of the winter,

where they remain till the 1st of the 4th month. During this interval they never leave their holes, and as they lay up no store for the winter supply, it is certain they live without eating. The Indians say they live by sucking their paws. The means by which their lives are supported in their recluse situation, I shall not undertake to determine. I shall however observe that when taken from their dens they are always very fat. We have met with much of their meat, and can assert that we have seen the thickness of four inches of fat between the skin and the lean which covers the ribs. During the winter the Indians find the bears by searching for their dens in the trees, which they know by the marks made by the claws of the bear in climbing.

We have now reached the waters of the lakes, having to-day forded one of the forks of the St. Mary's river. On our way we passed for a few miles along a road one hundred feet wide, cut by General Wayne's army for transporting provisions from the great Miami to the St. Mary's river. The road is now grown up with briars and shrubs.

Shortly after we had made our fire, and with the approach of night we heard at a short distance from us, a whooping in the woods. We had reason to believe from the shrill and uncommon whoop, that it was the voice of an Indian, and having understood that it was a custom among them when about to approach a camp, to

give notice by a whoop, we failed not to return the ceremony also by a whoop. In a few moments two Indian men upon a horse, followed by two women and a girl upon another horse, rode up to our camp. Their countenances were smiling and indicative of friendship. As we reached them our hands, they shook them saying, "Saga, Saga, niches," which we have since learned was the salutation, "How do you do, brothers." They could not speak English, but putting their hands to their breasts expressed, "Delawares, Delawares," from which we gathered they were Delaware Indians. They had their hunting apparatus with them, and pointing several times to the south, we concluded they wished to make us understand that their camp was in that direction, and that they were on their way to it. After looking upon us for some minutes they left us.

29th. Very early this morning we again proceeded, and this day rode thirty miles, a laborious, fatiguing journey to ourselves and horses. Our path leading through a flat country we find the travelling miry and deep. Our horses are to be pitied, the stock of corn we procured for them is exhausted, and the only food they can now get is the grass in the woods. For several nights past we have turned them loose to graze. These poor creatures feed around our camps and appear afraid to leave us.

This day we crossed the St. Mary's where its

width was about one hundred and fifty feet, it is said to be a very deep river. An old Indian and his squaw reside here, and he undertook to ferry us across in a canoe. Our horses swam the river, and got over well. The old Indian, whose name is Stephen, very unintentionally swam also. This accident was owing to the misconduct of some of the packers, who, on their way to Fort Wayne with provisions, gave Stephen too much whisky. Philip Dennis was in the canoe with him when he accidentally fell overboard; we were greatly alarmed for his safety, knowing that he was intoxicated, but after disappearing for a few seconds, he rose to the surface of the water, and soon convinced us that he could swim. Philip caught him by his blanket, and got him again into the boat. The old man laughed very heartily at the accident, saying to us in broken English, "No fear, me ferry you in de canoe yet." Our blacksmith having informed Stephen of his expectation of settling in the Indian country for the benefit of the red people, and the old man finding also that our company were all prosecuting their travels for benevolent purposes, exercised his gratitude by telling us "You pay one quarter dollar de man; nobody keep canoe here but Stephen; he make the white people pay dollar, I make dem packers pay me de rest." In Stephen's hut we observed several Indians who were asleep. He says they are Indians who have come a great distance and

are tired. During the greater part of this day we have rode through a heavy rain. The rain continuing with the approach of night, we made a large fire, and erected a shelter in imitation of the Indian hunting camps, covering it with our blankets. Under this we slept, and were but little incommoded, notwithstanding the rain continued during the greater part of the night.

I must not omit to mention that we to-day passed through a very level plain containing many thousand acres. This plain is almost without trees. The soil nearly hid by the weeds and grass of last year's growth; the luxuriance of which plainly demonstrates its extraordinary fertility. In this plain we observed a small pond or lake in which were wild geese and ducks in abundance. We are informed that this is one of the places where wild fowl raise their young.

30th. Pursued our path and travelled twenty-three miles through a very fertile, heavily timbered and beautiful country, being a little more inclined to hills. The ride to-day has been a pleasing one, in part doubtless from the reflection that the day would probably close a long, tedious and arduous journey. We at last reached Fort Wayne. As we approached the Fort, having reached it within about thirty rods, we were saluted by a sentinel with the word "Halt." We obeyed the command. A sergeant was despatched from the commanding officer, who enquired of us on his behalf, "Where are you

going," and "What is your business." We desired him to inform the commandant that we were strangers, and that we had an introductory letter directed to him which would explain our business.

The officer shortly returned to us with an invitation to advance; we accordingly proceeded, and were met very politely by the commanding officer, Capt. Whipple, to whom we handed the following letter from the Secretary of War.

"War Department, February 20, 1804.

"Gentlemen,—This will be handed you by Messrs. George Ellicott, Joel Wright, and Gerard T. Hopkins, who are a deputation from the Society of Friends in Maryland, for visiting the Indians in the western country for the laudable purpose of affording them assistance in the introduction of the arts of civilization.

They are men of high respectability, are actuated by the best motives, and are entitled to all the civilities in your power to bestow. You will please to afford them all necessary aid, and treat them with such marks of respectful attention as are due to citizens whose disinterested services deserve the plaudits of every good man.

"I am, very respectfully, your humble servant,

"HENRY DEARBORN.*

"To the commanding officer at Fort Wayne.
"Mr. John Johnson, Indian Factor.
"Mr. William Wells, Indian Agent."

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*General Dearborn was well acquainted with the members of the mission who resided at Ellicott's

After delivering this letter we proceeded to the house of a Canadian trader, who we had previously been informed would furnish us with accommodations.

In the evening the Commandant followed us to our quarters, discovering marks of great respect and attention, and appears to be a gentleman. He has urgently pressed us to dine with him to-morrow, and we have accepted the invitation.

31st. This morning the commanding officer, accompanied by John Johnson and William Wells, the two other persons named in the letter to the Secretary of War, waited upon us. They

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Mills, and letters frequently passed between them. He was deeply interested in the improvement of the Indian tribes, and having heard of the deputation about to be sent from the Friends of Maryland to Fort Wayne, he drew up this letter, and also the one which will be seen in the following pages to the commanding officer, and the Indian agent at Detroit, and wishing to impart all the information he possessed, to relieve a journey to a place then considered so distant a settlement, he took the trouble to deliver them in person at Ellicott's Mills, and suggest the return of the mission by the way of Lake Erie and Niagara. The General was a noble looking man, and although he had been actively engaged in our Revolutionary war, still appeared to be in the vigor of life; he made the trip from Washington to Ellicott's Mills on horse-back attended by his son and a servant, a distance of forty miles, and returned the next day in the same way. T.

expressed to us they were glad to see us, and invited us with marks of earnestness, each one, to make his house our home. We thanked them for their kindness, and accepted the invitation of the Factor, John Johnson, whom we accompanied to his house.

In an interview with these three persons we communicated to them more fully the object of our visit, and consulted with them respecting the best mode to pursue, in order to effect our purpose. It was deemed advisable that an express be sent to the Little Turtle and to the Five Medals. The former residing at his town called Turtle's Town, about eighteen miles from this place, situated upon Eel river, a water of the Wabash, and the latter on the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, about forty miles hence, informing them of our arrival at Fort Wayne, and that we wished to see each of them there at an early period. This charge William Wells readily took upon himself, and we have no doubt he will comply with his engagement.

We fulfilled our promise in dining to-day with Capt. Whipple, the commanding officer. We were all accompanied to his house by John Johnson, who dined with us. The officer behaved with a freedom and gentility becoming a well bred man. After dinner he showed us more fully the fort. This fortification which was built by General Wayne, is large and substantial, and is situated opposite to the junction of the

St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, and precisely the place from which those waters take the name of the Miami of the Lake,* bearing that name to Lake Erie. The fort commands a beautiful view of these rivers, as also of an extent of about four miles square of cleared land. Much of this land has been cleared by the army of the United States, and much of it was formerly done by the Miami Indians; they having had a large town here. It is said that in the year 1785, the Indian town then at this place contained upwards of one thousand warriors. The garrison kept here at present contains about forty officers and soldiers It being a time of profound peace with the Indians, government have withdrawn the large force formerly kept at this station.

The spot where Fort Wayne is situated is rendered famous in Indian history. It was here that the Indians gave the army of General Harmar a second defeat by which several hundred of his men fell. Their bones lie scattered upon the surface of the earth, and we are told that the route by which the army made an escape can be readily traced for the distance of five or six miles by the bones of those slain by the Indians.

The grave of the Toad, nephew to the Little Turtle, a distinguished young chief, who with the Little Turtle and other chiefs visited the

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*Now called the Maumee river.

Friends of Baltimore two years ago, is here; he died very suddenly on his return from that journey. His death was greatly lamented by the Indians, and for a long time after his burial his grave was visited by them, and many singular ceremonies performed over it. They buried with him his rifle, his hunting apparatus, his best clothing, all his ornaments, trinkets, &c. &c. &c., their value being not less than three hundred dollars.

4th month 1st. This day is the first day of the week, and the inhabitants of Fort Wayne appear to pay no respect to it. The soldiers are on duty, and the Canadians who are settled here are busied with their several occupations. After breakfast we paid a visit to William Wells, and after spending several hours with him returned to our quarters. In the afternoon we observed three Indians advancing toward our lodgings, and soon discovered that one of them was the Five Medals, the other two were his sons. He had not heard of our arrival till he reached Fort Wayne, and the only information he had obtained was that some Quakers had come. Business had brought him to the fort. They were invited into our room, when the chief instantly recognized us both. He appeared glad to see us, and shook hands with both of us very heartily. A person being present who understood the Pottowattamy language, he said to him pointing to me, "This is the man who wrote our talks in Baltimore."

The Five Medals very deliberately and candidly replied to our inquiry after his health as follows: "That in the course of last fall he went to Detroit, that whilst there the white people made him drink whiskey. That after he had accomplished his business there, he set out for his home, and got upon his horse whilst the whiskey was in his head. That he had not rode far before he fell from his horse, and was very much hurt by the fall, and that ever since that time he had not been well."

After some further mutual inquiries, relative to the welfare of red and white acquaintance, we informed him through an interpreter that we had come to see our red brethren, that we had messages for both the Little Turtle and himself, and were glad that it had so happened that we had come. That we hoped the Little Turtle would come to-morrow, and that we wished to see them together, having something to say to them. He appeared pleased with this information, and expressed that he had made a camp not far off, where he would wait for the arrival of the Little Turtle. After some general conversation he withdrew, bidding us farewell.

4th mo. 2d. Being invited to dine to-day with William Wells, who is interpreter for the Indians, we went to his house accordingly, having the company of our very worthy and kind landlord.

About mid-day the Little Turtle arrived. He

approached us with a countenance placid beyond description; took us by the hand with cordiality, and expressed himself in terms of great gladness at meeting with us. He inquired very particularly after his friends and acquaintance of Baltimore, after our own welfare, the path we had come, and the difficulties we had encountered on our journey through the wilderness. Having answered his questions, he replied in turn to our inquiries as follows: That since he saw us it had pleased the Great Spirit to take away two of his brothers and a nephew. That his nephew was the Toad, a young chief who was with him in Baltimore. That he died on his return from that visit, and within a few miles of home, of which circumstance he had desired William Wells to inform us. That with respect to himself, *he was but half well*, having been very sick last fall and expected to die. That his white brothers at Fort Wayne, hearing of his illness, sent a doctor to him who gave him physic and made him better. That he had now seen fifty-three winters, and two of his brothers being dead, made him think of death, and that his time would soon come.

He also told us that he had left a brother at his town who would have accompanied him, being very desirous to come with him, but could not find his horse in time. After this, other conversation took place of a general nature. The interpreter informs us that his complaint is the

gout, and that in the time of his illness he (the interpreter) had told him that his complaint belonged to great folks and gentlemen. "Well," said the Turtle, "I always thought I was a gentleman."*

About 2 o'clock we dined. At the head of the table sat the interpreter's wife, who is a modest, well-looking Indian woman, and the daughter of a distinguished chief. She had prepared for us a large well roasted wild turkey, and also a wild turkey boiled, and for these she had provided a large supply of cranberry sauce. The Little Turtle sat at table with us, and with much sociability we all partook of an excellent dinner.

In the afternoon the Five Medals, attended by his sons, visited us at William Wells' house, and the opportunity being a suitable one, we proposed to them that a formal conference should then take place between us. This proposition meeting their assent, we opened the conference by desiring the interpreter to inform them that we had received their talk sent to us last fall,

* By the suffrage of all who became acquainted with the Little Turtle during his visits to Baltimore in 1801, and also in 1807, he was acknowledged to be a gentleman in character, appearance, and manners. His estimate of himself therefore was not too high. For his speech before the Indian Committee in Baltimore in 1801, and other information concerning him, see appendix. T.

informing us that the implements of husbandry, which we had sent to them last year, had come to them safely, and that we had carefully observed all that was contained in that talk. That we were deputed by their brothers and friends of Baltimore to come to see them. That we had accordingly come, and had with us a letter directed to them, which we thought ought in the first place to be read, and after that we might have something to say to them. A short pause having taken place, they expressed a desire that the letter should be read, which was accordingly done, and interpreted to them as follows :

"From the Committee appointed for Indian Affairs by the Friends of Maryland to the Little Turtle and the Five Medals, Chiefs of the Pottowattamy and Miami nations of Indians :

"*Brothers and Friends.*—We have received your talk, communicated by our friend William Wells, after the reception of the implements of husbandry sent last spring for your use. In that speech, as well as when you were in Baltimore, you have told us that you thought it best for some of us to go out to see you, that we might be better capable of judging what could be done further for the benefit of our red brethren.

"*Brothers and Friends,*—In compliance with your request we have named our beloved friends George Ellicott, Gerard T. Hopkins, Joel Wright, and Elisha Tyson, to go and visit you and to take

you by the hand on our behalf. And we desire that you will receive them, or any of them that may be enabled to perform the journey as your brothers, in whom we have confidence, and that you will receive any communications from them as being from us, who are desirous of assisting you in what may add to your comfort, and that of your women and children.

Your friends and brothers,

William Stabler,	Evan Thomas,
Isaac Tyson,	Elisha Tyson,
Benjamin Ellicott,	Jonathan Wright,
John Ellicott,	Elias Ellicott,
Edward Stabler,	Jonathan Ellicott,
Philip E. Thomas,	Thomas More,
Andrew Ellicott, Jr.,	Samuel Snowden.

Baltimore, 2d mo. 4th, 1804."

At the contents of this letter they expressed their satisfaction, and after a pause of several minutes we addressed them through an interpreter as follows:

"*Brothers and Friends.*—You observe that the letter which has just been read, makes mention of four of us appointed to visit you. One of these was an infirm man who thought he could not endure the fatigue of so long a journey, and therefore did not come. The other did not omit to come for the want of love to his red brethren; family circumstances rendered it inconvenient for him to leave home. You see,

brothers, that it has pleased the Great Spirit that two of us mentioned in the letter, should reach the country of our red brethren. Brothers, we thought it right in the first place to send for you, and to show you the letter which has just been read. We are glad that you are now come, and that we have this opportunity of taking you by the hand.

"Brothers, we believe that we have some things to say to you which are of great importance to our red brothers, to their old men, to their young men, to their women, and to their children.

"Brothers, we may now mention that we have not come merely to talk, but we hope we have come prepared to do a little for the welfare of our red brethren.

"Brothers, in looking over our business, we have thought that we should be glad to have an opportunity of seeing our red brethren together, and are willing to propose for your consideration, that you should now fix upon some place, and agree upon some time to meet us again, and that our brothers invite their old men, their young men, their women and their children to meet us, when we shall have something to say which it may not be necessary now to say.

"*Brothers and Friends*,—Should you think that the proposal which we have now made is proper, and conclude to meet us in the manner we have pointed out, we expect we shall have but little more to say at present." Here a pause

for some minutes took place, when the Little Turtle inquired, "If the Friends had more to say." He was answered in the negative.

After a further pause and some conversation between the two chiefs, they rose from their seats, and perceiving that they were advancing toward us, we also arose from our seats. On meeting them, they took us by the hand, and with countenances indicative of great gravity, shook hands with us and returned to their seats.

The Five Medals then commenced a speech as follows :—

"Brothers and Friends: My friend, the Little Turtle, and myself, together with my two sons, who are present, rejoice to have this opportunity of seeing you, and of taking you by the hand.

"My Brothers: We are glad to be informed, that you received our talk sent to you last fall, and to find that you are now come to the country of your red brethren.

"My Brothers and Friends: We rejoice that the Great Spirit has conducted you safely to our country, and figure to ourselves that in you we see the rest of our brothers and friends of Baltimore, and that in taking you by the hand, we take them by the hand.

"Brothers: We know that you have come a long distance to see the situation of your red brethren. We have no doubt that you have things to say which are of great importance to

us, and which do not belong to a few only but to many.

"Brothers: Your brethren the Indians do business not as the white people do. We convene our chiefs, and things of importance are considered by them. But, brothers, you have come to see the situation of your red brethren. It is our wish that you should see it. You shall not be disappointed. The proposal you have made to us we think right, and have concluded that this place (Fort Wayne,) is the best place to be fixed upon for the purpose you wish. We are pleased to find that you have a desire that our young men should be present to hear what you have to say, and as it is your wish to see our women and children, we desire that you may have an opportunity of seeing them.

"Brothers and Friends: Our young men are out hunting, and our women and children are now at work at their sugar camps. The time is not far off when they will all return to our towns, when it is usual to meet together. We hope, brothers, that you will not be in a hurry, but will allow us time to collect our people together."

Here a pause took place, when we inquired if they had any thing further to add. And being answered in the negative, we addressed them again in substance as follows:

"Brothers and Friends: When we left our

homes, we knew it was early in the season, and expected that we should get to the country of our red brethren at a time when their young men, their women and children would be busy. But brothers, a part of the service* which we design to render to you, required that we should come early, and makes it also necessary that we should now be in a hurry.

"Brothers: We will also add that when we were chosen by our friends at home to pay a visit to our red brethren, our women and children consented that we should leave them, but charged us that we should not stay away from them longer than circumstances really required. A long time has already past since we left them, we therefore hope, brothers, that in three or four days it will be in your power to get together some of your people. Those that are far from home we do not wish that you should send for."

The Little Turtle then observed that the reasons we had given were good. The Five Medals next remarked that at the time proposed, they could easily convene a considerable number of their indolent people, who were too lazy to hunt or make sugar, but such they did not wish us to see. Their industrious young men and women

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* The Friends were desirous that their agriculturist, Philip Dennis, should arrive amongst the Indians in time to plant corn. T.

were too far from home to be convened in so short a time.

Here a short conversation took place between the chiefs, and afterwards they proposed seven day's hence as the time; desiring that to-morrow might not be counted, as it would take them a day to return home. To this we consented.

The Five Medals then expressed as follows:

"Brothers, it would have been very desirable to us if you could have met us at the time of our counsel. We have very often told our people of the Quakers. They listen to us, but are at a loss to know what sort of people the Quakers are. If you could stay, brothers, they would have an opportunity of seeing the Quakers, and of hearing words from your own mouths."

After this the Little Turtle added:

"Brothers: We hope the words that you may say to us at the time we have appointed to meet will be upon paper. From that paper we can at some future time have your words delivered to our people. This, brothers, will in some measure answer the end."

During a pause which occupied several minutes we asked them if we understood each other. The Turtle replied, "Yes, perfectly; we have nothing further to do now than to look forward to the day appointed."

After this we took each other by the hand and very cordially bade farewell. We then returned to our lodgings.

In the evening we again had the company of the chiefs, they having been invited by our landlord to take supper with us.

3d. This day rainy, and spent chiefly at William Wells'.

Besides the garrison stationed here, there is a large store of goods established by the United States, for the purpose of supplying the Indians. The store is kept by our landlord. Several Canadian traders also reside here, who exchange goods with the Indians ; some of them have resided here for more than thirty years. The Indians are daily arriving with their peltry, some of them exchange them for goods, others require money. The women bring sugar, which is generally neatly packed in a square box made of bark, containing about fifty pounds. It is made from the sugar tree. This art has long been known to the Indians. They make and use large quantities of sugar. We have seen very white and clear looking sugar of their manufacture.

4th. Rode about two miles up the St. Mary's river and viewed the remains of old Indian houses, also the fields on which they cultivated corn, where the corn hills are still discernible. We also observed large numbers of Indian graves. These are now discernible only by the sunken cavities in the surface of the earth. In the course of our route we have seen many Indian graves of more recent date. They bury their

dead about three feet below the surface of the earth; and over the grave they either place a heap of stones or a pen of logs. If the deceased has been a person of distinction, they plant posts at the head and foot which they ornament very curiously.

In a review of the many circumstantial evidences which have fallen under our observation of the former population of this western world, I am ready to adopt the expressions of a pious author:

> "Where is the dust that hath not been alive!
> The spade, the plough, disturb our ancestors;
> From human mould we reap our daily bread."
> *Young's Night Thoughts.*

4th month 5th. Spent the day with Captain Wells. We walked with him up the St. Joseph's river, and were shown the ground upon which the Indians under the command of the Little Turtle defeated a part of the United States army under General Harmar, killing 300 out of 500 men. We also followed for a considerable distance the route which the soldiers took in their retreat, and saw many of their bones. Amongst these were skulls which had marks of the tomahawk and scalping knife. Many of them had fallen on the east bank of the river, and also within the river. The Indians being stationed behind trees on the west side shot them in their attempt to get across.

We were shown the tree behind which the

Little Turtle took his station, as also a tree near it behind which his nephew fell. This was a second defeat, the United States troops having been routed the day before on Eel river.

6th. Spent the day in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, in the course of which we visited Captain Whipple. This afternoon several Indians from different tribes arrived, bringing with them skins and furs. These are mostly brought by the women upon their backs, the men thinking it sufficient to carry their guns and hunting equipments.

We saw this evening a white woman, who, when a small girl, had been taken captive, and has ever since lived amongst the Pottowatamy tribe of Indians. She tells us (through an interpreter) that she has no knowledge of the part of the country from which she was taken, nor of her family. That she remembers her name was Dolly, which is the only distinct recollection she retains of herself previous to her captivity. This woman is dressed in Indian habit, is painted after the Indian order, and has so effectually adopted Indian manners, that a nice observer would not discover from external observation her origin, except from the color of her eyes, which are grey.

7th. Visited William Wells, and rode with him up the St. Mary's about five miles. On our way we passed several sugar camps, at which were Indian women and children who were em-

ployed in making sugar. Their huts were large, and covered with the bark of the Buck Eye wood. Their troughs for catching the sugar water as it is called, are made of the bark of the red elm, they are made thin, and the ends tied together. We were shown the places where stood the houses of several distinguished characters amongst the Indians. Captain Wells also took us to the ground, where the Little Turtle reviewed his men, and gave them their orders before going against the army of General St. Clair. It is an extensive plain near the river. Wells was then one of the number, and says the Little Turtle had one thousand four hundred men ; St. Clair's army consisted of a much larger number, and were about fifty miles distant at the time. The Little Turtle divided his men into bands or messes, to each mess twenty men. It was the business of four of this number alternately to hunt for provisions. At 12 o'clock each day it was the duty of the hunters to return to the army with what they had killed. By this regulation, his warriors were well supplied with provisions, during the seven day's in which they were advancing from this place to the field of battle. It is well known that at day break the Indians commenced an unexpected attack upon St. Clair's forces, killed nine hundred of his men, and put his whole army to flight. Wells says, that only about thirty Indians were killed in the battle, and that about twenty died

afterwards of their wounds. He also related the following anecdote:

A considerable altercation arose amongst the Indians on the review ground, relative to a Commander-in-Chief. Some were in favor of Buckangehelas, a principal chief amongst the Delawares, whilst others were in favor of the Little Turtle. At length Buckangehelas himself decided the controversy by yielding to the Little Turtle, saying that he was the youngest and most active man, and that he preferred him to himself. This reconciled the parties, and the Little Turtle took the command.

We also rode to view a prairie which extends from the St. Mary's river to the Little river, a branch of the Wabash. The distance from one to the other is not more than four miles, and the highest ground is not more than five feet above the water in either river. The Indians say that in high freshets they have passed from one water to the other in their canoes. A canal might easily be cut here, and at a small expense, by which the waters of the lakes and the waters of the Ohio, (and of course the Mississippi) would be connected. An abundance of furs and skins taken on the waters of the Ohio and the Wabash, are brought up the latter river in boats by the Canadians and the Indians, and thence taken across a portage of eight miles to the Miami of the Lakes,* whence they are

* The Maumee river.

again conveyed by water to Detroit; goods suitable for the Indian trade are also transported back again by the same route.

After spending some time in viewing the remains of several old Indian towns, graves, hieroglyphics, &c. &c. &c., we returned to William Wells' house, where we dined, and in the evening returned to our lodgings.

8th. Paid a visit to the carpenter and blacksmith who accompanied us as before mentioned. They are both at work. The blacksmith is repairing Indian guns, and the carpenter is at work upon a council house which the government has ordered to be built for the Indians at their request. The house is to be built of hewn logs, fifty feet in length, and twenty-five in width. We also amused ourselves in attending to the manner of packing furs and skins. Our friend Jonathan has several Canadians now employed in that business. They are packed by a machine constructed for the purpose, by which the work is performed expeditiously. The packs are made in squares of about two and a half feet, and contain from thirty-five to forty deer skins, or about two hundred raccoon skins.

9th. On the evening of this day, we received a message from the Little Turtle, informing us that the Indians had arrived, and that they would be ready to meet us at 10 o'clock the next morning.

4th mo. 10th. At 10 o'clock this morning we

proceeded to William Wells', who, as we before observed, is interpreter for the Indians. We were accompanied by our friend John Johnson, Captain Whipple, Lieutenants Campbell and Simms, and several other reputable persons, and were met by the following chiefs:

O-bas-se-a, (or the Fawn,) a village chief of great distinction in the Miami nation.

Os-so-mit, a village chief of the Pottowattamy nation, and brother to the Five Medals.

Me-she-ke-na-que, or the Little Turtle, a war chief of the Miami nation.

They were attended by a considerable number of their principal young men, and by several women.

The Five Medals was not present. He had informed us on taking leave, that circumstances required him to return to his town, and that the distance would be too great for him to return in time to meet us, his infirmities occasioning him to travel slowly, but that he would send his brother, who would report to him faithfully all the proceedings of the council.

After we had taken each other by the hand, the chiefs took their seats by the side of each other. Their principal people next seated themselves according to the rank or distinction which they held. After them, their young men in circular order, seat after seat,—and lastly, the women,—who occupied seats separate from the men, being placed near the centre of the room.

We took our seats on the opposite side of the house and in front of the Indians.

Being all thus seated—I speak literally, when I say my heart palpitated—I felt the importance and dignity of our mission; I wished our heads were wiser, and feared for the result of so interesting an opportunity.

After a few minutes had passed, the Little Turtle observed, that when we met before, they had informed us of the difficulty there was in convening the Indians at so early a period in the season, and that those of their people then present with him were all who were likely to attend to listen to what we had to say.

We then proposed that the letter from our friends and brothers at home, read to the Five Medals and the Little Turtle at the time of our first meeting, should be again read for the information of our Indian brethren now attending.

This proposal was deemed proper, and the letter was accordingly read.

After a short pause, we addressed them as follows:

"Brothers and Friends: We know that the most of our Red Brethren are, at present, at their hunting and sugar camps, and did not expect to see a large number at so short a notice. We have, therefore, agreeably to your request, put upon paper the things we have to say, and hope you will not fail to have them communi-

cated, when, at some future time, you may be more generally assembled."

One of us, then standing up, read to them the following address: The interpreter, also standing between us and the Indians, interpreted our communication: "The Address of George Ellicott and Gerard T. Hopkins, delivered to the Little Turtle and the Five Medals, Chiefs of the Miami and Pottowattamy nations of Indians, and others."

"Brothers and Friends: When we were together, eight days ago, with the Little Turtle and the Five Medals, the letter was read to them, which has just been read. That letter, you observe, says that we were appointed by the people called Quakers, of Baltimore, to visit you, and to take you by the hand on their behalf, desiring that you would receive any communications from us, as coming immediately from them.

"Brothers: After that letter was read, our hearts were filled with so much love for our Red Brethren, that, on looking over and considering the business upon which we had come, we felt a desire to see as many together as could be convened—and this day was that agreed upon for us to meet you.

"Brothers: We believed that the things we had to say were of great importance to our Red Brethren, and therefore it was that we requested to see you together, that you all might have an opportunity of hearing what we have to say.

"Brothers: Our hearts are filled with thankfulness to the Great Spirit, that He has brought us safely to the country of our Red Brethren, and protected us through the journey. We also rejoice that He has given us this opportunity of seeing you, and of taking you by the hand.

"Brothers: It is now a little more than two years since your Brothers of Baltimore had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Five Medals, the Little Turtle, Tuthinipee, and some other chiefs. They were glad of that opportunity of having a talk with them, and of enquiring after the situation of their Red Brethren.

"Brothers: We had for some time entertained apprehensions, that the many changes which were taking place in circumstances, must greatly change the situation of our Red Brethren, and that the time was fast approaching, in which it would be necessary for them to alter their mode of living.

"Brothers: After our talk with the chiefs whom we have just mentioned, we were fully convinced that the time was come, in which our Red Brethren ought to begin to cultivate their lands; that they ought to raise corn and other grain, also horses, cows, sheep, hogs, and other animals. We then proposed to afford them some assistance. They appeared to be glad of the proposal,

and informed that many of their people were disposed to turn their attention to the cultivation of the earth. They also expressed a desire to be assisted by their Brothers of Baltimore.

"Brothers: Having been encouraged by the opportunity which we then had, we sent to the care of the Agent for Indian Affairs some ploughs, harness for horses, axes, hoes, and other implements of husbandry, which were made for the use of our Red Brethren, and desired that they might be distributed amongst them as tokens of our friendship.

"Brothers: We received last fall, through the hands of the Agent for Indian Affairs, a talk from the Little Turtle, the Five Medals, and others, informing us that they had received the implements of husbandry, and requested that their Brothers of Baltimore would send some of their people into the country of their Red Brethren for the purpose of seeing their situation, and showing them how to make use of the tools, saying they did not know how to *begin*.

"Brothers: It is for these purposes that we have now come; and we again repeat, that we rejoice we have the opportunity of seeing you, and of taking you by the hand.

"Brothers: In coming into the country of our Red Brethren, we have come with our *eyes open*. And although we are affected with sorrow, in believing that many of the Red Brethren suffer

much for the want of food and for the want of clothing, yet our hearts have been made glad, in seeing that it has pleased the Great Spirit to give you a rich and valuable country. Because we know that it is *out of the earth* that food and clothing come. We are sure, brothers, that with but little labor and attention, you may raise much more corn and other grain than will be necessary for yourselves, your women and children, and may also, with great ease, raise many more horses, cows, sheep, hogs and other valuable animals, than will be necessary for your own use. We are also confident, that if you will pursue our method in the cultivation of your land, you will live in much greater ease and plenty, and with much less fatigue and toil, than attend hunting, for a subsistence.

"Brothers: We are fully convinced, that if you will adopt our mode of cultivating the earth, and of raising useful animals, you will find it to be a mode of living, not only far more plentiful and much less fatiguing, but also much more *certain*, and which will expose your bodies less to the inclemencies of the weather than is now attendant upon *hunting*. It will lead you, brothers, to have fixed homes. You will build comfortable dwelling-houses for yourselves, your women and children, where you may be sheltered from the rain, from the frost, and from the snow, and where you may enjoy in plenty the rewards of your labors.

"Brothers: In laying these things before you, we have no other motive than a desire of heart for the improvement, the benefit and the welfare of our Red Brethren—and therefore it is that we speak with freedom, and we hope, that what we have to say, *will go in at one ear, and not come out at the other*, but that it will be remembered by our Red Brethren. For we know, brothers, that we shall not be ashamed of what we say, when, in time to come, you compare the things we are saying to you with your experience in practising them.

"Brothers: We will here mention, that the time was, when the forefathers of your brothers, the white people, lived beyond the great water, in the same manner that our Red Brethren now live. The winters can yet be counted when they went almost naked, when they procured their living by fishing, and by the bow and arrow in hunting—and when they lived in houses no better than yours. They were encouraged by some who came from the sun-rising, and lived amongst them, to change their mode of living. They did change—they cultivated the earth, and we are sure the change was a happy one.

"Brothers and Friends: We are not ashamed to acknowledge that the time was when our forefathers rejoiced at finding a wild plumb tree, or at killing a little game, and that they wandered up and down, living on the uncertain supplies of fishing and hunting. But, brothers, for your

encouragement, we now mention that, by turning their attention to the cultivation of the earth, instead of the plumb tree, they soon had orchards of many kinds of good fruits—instead of wild game, they soon had large numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, and other valuable animals,—and in many places, instead of their forests, they had large fields of corn and other grain, as also many other valuable productions of the earth.

"Brothers: We hope your eyes will be open to see clearly, the things which are best for you, and that you will desire to pursue them. We believe, brothers, that it is in the heart of your father, the President of the United States, to assist his red children in the cultivation of the earth, and to render them services which will be greatly for their benefit and welfare. We hope that your exertions to change your present mode of living will be so *plain* to him, that he will *see them*. This will encourage him to continue to aid you, in your endeavors.

"Brothers, we have spoken plainly; we desire to speak plainly. We will now tell you that we have not come merely to *talk* to you. We have come prepared to render you a little assistance. Our beloved brother, Philip Dennis, who is now present, has come along with us. His desire is to cultivate for you a field of corn; also, to show you how to raise some of the other productions of the earth. He knows how to use

the plough, the hoe, the axe, and other implements of husbandry.

"Brothers, we here ask you, are you still desirous to be instructed by us, in the cultivation of your lands? If you say you are, our brother, whom we have just mentioned, will continue with you during the summer. We shall leave it to you to show him the spot where to begin to work.

"Brothers, he has left a farm, he has left a wife, and five small children, who are very dear to him; he has come from a sincere desire to be useful to our red brothers. His motives are pure, he will ask no reward from you, for his services, his greatest reward will be in the satisfaction he will feel in finding you inclined to take hold of the same tools which he takes hold of, to receive from him instruction in the cultivation of your lands, and to pursue the example he will set you.

"Brothers, we hope you will make the situation of our brother as comfortable as circumstances will admit. We hope, also, that many of your young men will be willing to be taught by him, to use the plough, the hoe, and other implements of husbandry. For we are sure, brothers, that as you take hold of such tools as are in the hands of the white people, you will find them to be to you like having additional hands. You will also find that by using them,

they will enable you to do many things which, without them, cannot be performed.

"Brothers, there is one thing more which we wish to add. The white people, in order to get their land cultivated, find it necessary that their young men should be employed in it, and not their women. Women are less than men. They are not as strong as men. They are not as able to endure fatigue as men. It is the business of our women to be employed in our houses, to keep them clean, to sew, to knit, spin, and weave, to dress food for themselves and families, to make clothes for the men and the rest of their families, to keep the clothes of their families clean, and to take care of their children.

"Brothers, we desire not to mention too many things to you, but we must add a little further. We are fully convinced that if you will turn your attention to the cultivation of the earth, to raising the different kinds of grain, to erecting mills for grinding grain, to building comfortable dwelling-houses for your families, to raising useful animals—amongst others, sheep, for the advantage of the wool, in making clothing—to raising flax and hemp for your linen; and your young women learn to spin and weave, that your lives would be easier and happier than at present, and that your numbers will increase, and not continue to diminish. As we before observed, brothers, your land is good. It is far better than the land the white people near the great

water cultivate. We are persuaded that your land will produce double the quantity of any kind of grain, or of flax, or of hemp, with the same labor necessary near the great water.

"Brothers and Friends: We shall now end what we have to say, with informing you that all the corn, and other productions of the earth, which Philip Dennis may raise, we wish our red brethren to accept of, as a token of our friendship. And it is our desire that the chiefs of the Pottowatamy and Miami nations, who are now present, added to our brothers, the Five Medals, Tuthenipee, and Philip Dennis, make such a distribution thereof as they may think proper."*

The Indians observed great gravity and decorum, during the time of our addressing them, and seemed to reiterate the sentiments delivered by repeated shouts.

At the close of our communication, a short pause took place, during which we informed them that we had no more to add at present, but wished them to speak freely. After which a conversation, occupying several minutes took place between the chiefs, and some of their

* The address was published in pamphlet form in Baltimore, by the Indian Committee in 1804, and also appeared in the newspapers of the period, and was much commended for its earnest and enlightened simplicity. T.

principal men, which being in the Indian language was to us unintelligible. They then rose upon their feet, and shook hands with us with great solemnity, and then returned to their seats.

In a few moments the Little Turtle arose and delivered the following speech, which one of us* wrote in short hand, from the mouth of the Interpreter.

"Brothers, it appears to me to be necessary that I should give you an immediate answer, as you are about to return to your families from whence you came.

"My Brothers and Friends, we are all pleased to see you here, and to take our brothers, the Quakers, through you by the hand. We rejoice that the Great Spirit has appointed that we should this day meet. For we believe, that this meeting will be of the utmost consequence to your red brethren.

"Brothers, what you have said, we have carefully gathered up, we have placed it in our hearts, in order that it may be communicated to our posterity. We are convinced that what you have said is for the good of your red brethren. We are also convinced that our chiefs and warriors, our women and children will be all of our

* Gerard Hopkins, who was a fine short hand writer. T.

opinion, and will be glad when they have heard what you have said.

"Brothers, we take you now by the hand, and through you we take the people who sent you here by the hand, and assure you we are pleased that the Great Spirit has let us see each other, and converse together upon the subjects which you have communicated to us.

"Brothers, you see there is not a large number of us here. What you have said to us will not remain with those who are here alone. It will be communicated to all your red brethren in this country. And I again repeat, that I am convinced they will be glad to hear what you have said to us, to our women and children.

"Brothers, when we saw you with the rest of our brothers in Baltimore, upwards of two years ago, I expect you recollect perfectly the conversation between us at that time and place. I, there with my brother chiefs, told you that we were glad to find you so much disposed to assist us, our women and children. We told you that your good wishes should be made known to all your red brethren in this country, which has been done.

"Brothers, ever since that time, I, as well as some others of my brother chiefs, have been endeavoring to turn the minds of our people towards the cultivation of the earth, but I am sorry to say we have not yet been able to effect any thing.

"Brothers, there are so few of our chiefs now present, it would not be proper for us to undertake to give a pointed answer to your talk. We expect that in a few moons there will be many of our people together. At that time it will be proper that we should return an answer to all the subjects you now mention to us.

"Brothers, the things you have said to us require the greatest attention. It appears to me to be really necessary to deliberate upon them. In order to do so, we must beg to leave the paper upon which they are written, that we may communicate them to our chiefs when they assemble.

"Brothers, all the words which you have said to-day were certainly calculated for our good. You have enumerated to us the different kinds of grain and animals we ought to raise for our comfort. You have told us that if we all adopt the plan you have proposed, we should want for nothing. This, brothers, myself and many of our people believe is true, and we hope we shall finally be able to convince our young men that this is the plan we ought to adopt to get our living.

"Brothers, you have come a long distance to render service to us. We hope that you will meet with the success you wish, you have been very particular in pointing out to us what will be for our good. You have also been very particular in pointing out to us the duties of our women, and you have told us that in adopting

your mode of living, our numbers would increase and not diminish! In all this I perfectly agree with you. And I hope the other chiefs will also agree with you.

"Brothers, we are pleased to hear you say you are going to leave one of your brothers with us, to show us in what manner you cultivate the earth. We shall endeavor, brothers, to make his situation amongst us as agreeable to him as will be possible for us.

"Brothers, we are convinced that the plan you propose will be highly advantageous to your red brethren. We are also convinced that you have observed very justly that we shall not then be liable to sickness. We are certain that we shall then be able to make a more comfortable living with less labor than at present. And I hope that this will be the opinion of us all.

"Brothers, I again repeat that I am extremely glad to hear the words you have said, and we will keep them in our hearts for the good of our young men, our women, and our children. I have now delivered to you the sentiments of our people who are present."

After a short pause he then added:

"Brothers, assure your people who sent you here, tell your old chiefs that we are obliged to them for their friendly offers to assist us in changing our present mode of living; tell them that it is a work which cannot be done *immediate-*

ly,—that we are *that way disposed*, and we hope it will take place gradually."

Here the speaker sat down for a short time, and then rose again, saying,

"Brothers, my heart is so overjoyed and warmed with what you have said, that I find I had forgot to mention one of the most important things.

"Brothers, at the time we first met at this place, the Five Medals and myself formed some idea of your business. We expected you had come to do for us the things you had proposed to us when in Baltimore. We consulted each other upon the answer necessary to return to you in every respect, and I now find that our idea was right.

"Brothers, the sentiments which I have delivered to you were his sentiments. You have now told us, that your brother has a mind to live amongst us to show us how to cultivate the earth, and have desired us to show him the spot where to begin. We agreed *then*, that he should be at neither of our villages, lest our younger brothers should be jealous of our taking him to ourselves. We have determined to place him on the Wabash, where some of our families will follow him,—where our young men I hope will flock to him, and where he will be able to instruct them as he wishes. This is all I have to say. I could all day repeat the sentiments I have already expressed; also how much I have

been gratified in seeing and hearing my brothers; but that is not necessary. I am sorry, brothers, that the chiefs of our country are not all present, that they might all hear what you have said, and have an opportunity of talking to you."

At the close of this speech we were informed that nothing would be added by the Indians to the communication made by the Little Turtle. We then told them that the words spoken by the Little Turtle should be carefully carried home to our brothers and friends who had sent us. We also informed them that notwithstanding we were now desirous to return to our homes as soon as possible, yet we wished to see the place which they designed to be the station of our brother, Philip Dennis, and hoped some of them would show it to us. We further added, that this did not arise from any jealousy in our minds that the place fixed upon was not suitable. On the contrary, we had no doubt that they had judged wisely; but that the love and respect which we bore to our brother, led us to desire to bear him company to the place, and also to render him every assistance in our power before we left him.

They then informed us that they would consult and fix upon some one to go with us. The business of the council being then at an end, we in turn rose from our seats, and shook hands with them, which concluded the formalities of the opportunity. After entering into a little

conversation, we told them we should now bid them farewell, as we expected we should not see them again. They then took us separately by the hand, and with marks of great affection and friendship bade us farewell, and we returned to our quarters.

4th month 12th. Being a fine pleasant morning we set out for the place on the Wabash assigned by the Indians to Philip Dennis. We were accompanied by William Wells and Massanonga, (or Clear Sky,) a handsome young man of the Wea tribe, deputed by the Indians to pilot us, who (by the bye) says he shall be the first young man to take hold of Philip Dennis' plough.

After riding eight miles, we came to the place called the Portage, on Little river, a navigable water of the Wabash. Then down the margin of the river, leaving it to our left. At the end of four miles, crossed Sandy Creek, another navigable water of the Wabash; then proceeded through the woods, and at the end of thirteen miles further again came to Little river, at a place called the Saddle. This name is derived from a large rock in the bed of the river in the shape of a saddle. From the Saddle we proceeded six miles along the margin of the river to its junction with the Wabash.

The bed of the Wabash here is of limestone. After riding five miles further, we came to a

vein of land about one mile in width, the surface of which is covered with small flint stones, and which we are told extends for several miles. On examining these flints, we found them of excellent quality.

Here the Indians supply themselves with flints for their guns and for other purposes, and here formerly they procured their darts. It has certainly been a place abundantly resorted to from time immemorial. This is evident from the surface of the ground being dug in holes of two and three feet in depth, over nearly the whole tract. This flinty vein is called by the Indians Father Flint. They have a tradition concerning its origin which is very incredible. From this we proceeded, and after riding two miles, reached the place proposed by the Indians.

This place is thirty-two miles rather south of west from Fort Wayne, and is situated on the Wabash, at a place called the Boat-yard, which name it obtained from the circumstance of General Wilkinson having built some flat, bottomed boats here, for the purpose of transporting some of the baggage of the American troops down the river. It was formerly the seat of an Indian town of the Delawares, and we are pleased to find there are about twenty-five acres of land clear. The Wabash here makes a beautiful appearance, and is about sixty yards wide. A little above is an island in the river, on one side of which the water runs with a strong cur-

rent, and affords a good mill seat. We viewed the land in this neighborhood for a considerable distance, and found it high and of superior quality, being covered with sugar trees of enormous size, black walnut, white walnut, hackberry, blue ash, oak, buckeye trees, &c., all very large. The land appears to be equal in quality to any we have seen, not excepting the bottoms of the Scioto and Paint Creek. About half a mile below, a handsome creek falls into the river from the north, which we traced for a considerable distance, and are convinced it affords a good mill seat. This creek bearing no name, we called it Dennis' Creek in honor of Philip Dennis.

As night approached, Massanonga, taking his knife, left us, and in about fifteen minutes returned with a remarkably fine turkey. This he prepared and roasted for us in a very nice and expeditious manner, on which we fared sumptuously. At 9 o'clock we wrapped ourselves in our blankets, and laid down to sleep before the fire, having no shelter. The night was frosty; we, however, slept tolerably and took no cold.

In the night the otters were very noisy along the river, the deer also approached our fire and made a whistling noise; the wolves howled, and at the dawn of day turkies gobbled in all directions.

13th. Early this morning we arose, and breakfasted on the remains of the turkey cooked last evening, after which we fixed upon the place

for Philip Dennis' farm ; we also staked out the situation for his wigwam, which is about one hundred feet from the banks of the Wabash, and opposite to a fine spring of excellent water issuing out of the bank of the river.

We are told by several persons well acquainted with the country, that from hence to St. Vincennes, on the Wabash, a distance of two hundred miles by land, and three hundred and fifty by water, the land on both sides of the river embracing a very extensive width, is not inferior to the description given of this location in yesterday's notes.

At Mississinaway, a large Indian town of the Miami's, situated about thirty miles below us, on the Wabash, stone coal is found, which with limestone continues for two hundred miles down the river.

There are no Indians between this and Fort Wayne, neither any between this and Mississinaway. Philip Dennis' nearest neighbors will be at the Little Turtle's town, eighteen miles distant. Whilst here we have seen four peroques loaded with peltry, manned by Canadians and Indians, on their way up the river to be transported to Detroit.

I may here observe that the Wabash affords an abundance of large turtles, called soft shelled turtles, the outer coat being a hard skin, rather than a shell. They are esteemed excellent food. It also affords a great variety of fine fish, and

we saw ducks in abundance; we are told it is resorted to by geese and swans.

About 8 o'clock in the morning we set out for Fort Wayne, where we arrived about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and after dining with William Wells returned to our lodgings.

14th. I may here observe that some days ago we came to a conclusion to return home by the way of the lakes; to this we have been induced from a hope that we shall be subjected to fewer difficulties and much less fatigue than to retrace the way by which we came; and I may also add, that we have been encouraged to this by the advice of our kind friends heretofore named, who have with much apparent cheerfulness offered to prepare a way for us; and this morning being informed by our worthy friend, Captain Whipple, that the boat intended for us would be in readiness against to-morrow, we spent the day in making preparations, and in writing to our families.

15th. This morning we bade both a joyful and sorrowful farewell to Philip Dennis, and the two young men who accompanied us out. We also took leave of those generally with whom we had formed an acquaintance, first breakfasting with Captain Whipple, whose hearty kindness to us has been so often repeated, that his name will deservedly claim a place in our remembrance. He has fitted out a perogue for us

and manned it with a corporal and private soldier from the fort; and, joined by John Johnson and William Wells, has stocked it with an apparent superabundant supply both for eating and drinking.

About 8 o'clock we embarked for Detroit, proceeded about thirty miles down the Miami of the lakes, and in the evening encamped under a tent near the margin of the river. With respect to the appearance of the country, the same old phrase must be continued; "land of excellent quality." We several times went ashore to view the river bottoms, they were extensive and appeared to be first rate land. The timber, buck eye, ash, elm, sugar tree, oak, hickory, black and white walnut, &c. We saw ducks in abundance, and Corporal King says they breed here in great numbers. This river affords a variety of fine fish, and mostly of descriptions very different from those found in our salt waters. Of these the following are some of the names; black, yellow, and white bass, covers, pickerel, suckers, herrings, muscanago, gar, pike, catfish, sheeps-head, carp, and sturgeon. These are all caught with the hook except the two last.

The sturgeon are now on their way from the lake to the head waters of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers. In company with the Little Turtle, our friends, John Johnson, William Wells, and some others, whilst at Fort Wayne, the conversation turned upon fish, and the then

running up of the sturgeon; the Little Turtle very humorously proposed to Johnson a project, which was to join in building a stone dam at the junction of the two rivers, to prevent the sturgeon from getting back again to the lake, and then said he "you and I will live on them this summer."

We observed to-day (15th,) several hunting and sugar camps, and went on shore to visit two of the latter. The camps were well supplied with jerk venison, dried raccoon, sturgeon, &c.; one man only was at the camp, and he was employed with his knife in making a paddle for his canoe. A squaw was knitting a bag, and another was preparing the bark of the buckeye for thread, strings, &c., by beating it with a piece of wood. We saw amongst them several fat and healthy looking children, who were playful and did not appear to be afraid of us. The children presented us with a quarter of fresh venison, for which we returned them some salt meat and biscuit, with which they were pleased. Here we saw a child about six months old fixed to a board in the genuine Indian fashion. The board was straight, about fifteen inches in width, and two and a half feet in length, having at its head a circular handle, and at the foot a small ledge. To this the child was lashed by cloth bandages, and so tight that it could not move hand or foot. The board was placed against a tree, almost perpendicularly, and the infant asleep—of course in a standing position. The child was painted very

red, and had silver bandages about its wrists, and ornaments of the same metal in its ears. The Indians are very fond of their children, and put about them very costly silver ornaments.

I have seen Indian children dressed in a calico frock which was stuck with silver broaches from neck to heel, besides ornaments on the wrists, in the ear, and about the neck and head.

4th month 16th. Proceeded very pleasantly down the river about fifty miles, and at night encamped under our tent. In the evening a severe thunder gust came on, with heavy rain, which continued for several hours after night, but having a good tent we did not get much wetted. In the course of the day we saw wild fowl in abundance, also passed by several Indian hunting and sugar camps. Our Corporal is very fond of saluting the camps with an imitation of an Indian whoop, which they are sure to answer by a similar note. This whoop very nearly resembles the shrill yelp of a dog. The land appears to be of an excellent quality, and deer and turkies are very numerous. Here also

"The prowling wolf howls hideous all night long,
And owls vociferate the dread response."

17th. Proceeded about thirty-five miles, and at night encamped under our tent. We have been entertained to-day with a diversified scene. The river covered with wild fowl, fish jumping up around us, and turkies flying.

We stopped a short time to view the remains of Fort Defiance. This fort was built by General Wayne, in the course of his march to attack the Indians. The situation is very beautiful and commanding, at the junction of the river Great Au Glaize with the Miami. The two rivers make a large body of water, the width being about two hundred yards. A Canadian trader only resides here. We also went on shore several times to visit Indian towns and camps. Great numbers of Indians are settled upon the banks of the Miami; they are chiefly of the Ottoway and Shawnese tribes. They appeared pleased at receiving visitors. Their children were very antic, and seemed to leap for joy on seeing us land; doubtless from a hope of receiving some presents. The hunters are returning to their towns, and many of their wigwams are stocked with peltry, dried raccoon, and jerk venison. They are on their way to the foot of the rapids. The women are mostly employed in knitting bags and belts and in making moccasins. A considerable number of Indians are on the river in bark canoes loaded with peltry. They are on the way to the foot of the rapids and other places for the purpose of exchanging their peltry with the traders for goods. Most of the wigwams we have seen to-day are covered with rushes sewed together, which are procured from the shores of Lake Erie, and so put together, that the covering will turn any fall of rain. An Indian house is

constructed by putting two forks into the ground, and a horizontal piece from one fork to the other. Upon this piece rest long pieces of bark, with the other end upon the earth at a convenient distance, thus sheltering them from the weather. Sometimes they make circular wigwams, by putting small saplings into the ground in circular order, then bringing the other ends to a point, they tie them together. These they either cover with bark or with the rush mats before described.

To-day we passed a place called Girty's town, noted for the former residence of Simon Girty.

18th. Proceeded about thirty-three miles. In the earlier part of the day we passed several creeks and small streams, and at length reached what is called the head of the rapids. The river is here about four hundred yards wide. The noise of the falls informed us of our approach, long before we reached them. Having reason to believe that our peroque was manned by careful hands, we resolutely entered the rapids and descended with great velocity down the fall for the distance of eighteen miles to the foot of the rapids. The whole of this distance is a continued fall, the land falling with the same regularity, and generally elevated but a few feet above the surface of the water. It is needless to say that we went swiftly down, when I add, that it is a trip occupying but one hour and a half.

The bed of the river is a solid limestone rock,

At the foot of the Rapids we lodged all night at the house of a Canadian trader, who treated us with great respect, and, though a tavern-keeper, would receive no pay from us for our supper, lodgings, or breakfast. A considerable encampment of Indians, who had come to trade with him was near his house. They were very merry for a great part of the night, keeping up a continued sound of their favorite instruments of music, amongst them the drum and fife. The former is made of part of the body of a hollow tree, with the ends covered with deer skin, upon which they beat with sticks, the latter they make of reed into which they bore holes somewhat in imitation of a fife. The foot of the Rapids is rendered well known in American history, as having been a place of freqnent rendezvous by the Indians, previous to their defeat by General Wayne. Here also the Indians burnt many of the white men who were taken prisoners by them. To this place Wayne marched, and here he met and defeated the Indian army.

About eight miles above the foot of the Rapids and near the centre of the river, in a very rapid situation, is a noted rock called by the Canadians, Rochede Bout, (or standing rock.) This rock is about thirty feet in height above the surface of the water, and the same in diameter. The top has the regular appearance of the roof of a house, and the body of the rock is circular. Its appearance is additionally handsome from

the circumstance of the roof, as it is called, being covered with cedar.

Fish are now passing up the Rapids in great numbers from the lakes, insomuch that the water smells strongly of them. They are taken very abundantly by the Canadians and Indians. The fisherman without seeing them strikes his barbed spear to the rocks, which often passes through several at a time, and frequently of different kinds. The muscanonje are taken here in great numbers; they are a fish from three to five feet in length.

19th. This morning we proceeded with difficulty ten miles; owing to high winds, and a rain coming on, prudence seemed to dictate that we should put into a harbor, which we did at the mouth of Swan creek, where is a small fort and garrison lately established by the United States. Introductory letters were given us at Fort Wayne, to Lieutenant Rhea, the Commandant, which we delivered. He treated us with respect, and with him we spent the remainder of the day and lodged. On our way we stopped to view an old fort, called Fort Miami, which was garrisoned by the British at the time Wayne defeated the Indians.

Many Indian villages and wigwams are seated on both shores of the river, and many Canadian traders are to be found residing amongst them. They have generally intermarried with the Indians, and adopted their manners. Some of the

Indian houses which we passed to-day are built of small round logs, and are roofed with bark. Near the mouth of Swan creek is an extensive valley of which we took a particular view. Here the Indians placed their wives and children at the time they agreed to make battle with General Wayne.

The river increases in width from the foot of the Rapids toward the lake. It is more than half a mile wide opposite Swan creek, and at present has the appearance of tide water; a strong east wind having brought a heavy swell from the lake, which has in a short time raised the river more than three feet in perpendicular height. We saw to-day geese and swans in great abundance.

20th. This morning notwithstanding the very unfavorable appearance of the weather, it being rainy and the wind high, we again proceeded. At the end of three miles we reached the mouth of the river, where we entered a beautiful circular bay, about six miles in diameter, called Miami bay.* The wind continuing high, we proceeded along the margin of the bay, for about ten miles to a point called Bay Point. This is the extreme point of land, between Miami Bay and Lake Erie. We attempted to turn the point in order to enter the lake, but the situation being bleak and the wind high, occasioned a heavy

* Now called Maumee Bay.

swell, and apprehending danger, we thought it most advisable, however reluctantly, to put to shore and encamp.

The shore of that part of the bay which we have passed, as also of the lake now in view, is elevated but a little above the surface of the water. The country is level and appears rich. The bay is resorted to by vast numbers of wild fowl.

21st. The last night has been very stormy and rainy. Our tent, though a good, one did not shelter us altogether from the rain. The high swells in the course of the night, breaking over our peroque, filled and sunk her, which has occasioned our men much labor and difficulty. And during this day the storm continuing, we have been obliged to remain under our tent.

22d. About midnight the clouds dispersing, wind becoming calm, and the moon shining very refulgently, we were encouraged again to embark, notwithstanding a considerable agitation of the lake from the storm, and were successful enough to turn Bay Point, after which we proceeded without difficulty to Point Raisin, near the mouth of the river Raisin, (or Grape river,) making a distance of about twelve miles, when the wind rising we made an unsuccessful attempt to get round the Point, and were again obliged to seek a harbor and wait for a calm. Shortly after we had put into harbor a fish approached the shore

very near to us and seemed to be at play. One of our men advanced toward it very cautiously, and with an oar, gave it a blow upon the tail, which so disabled it that he caught it. We found it to be a muscanonje, measuring four feet two inches in length and proportionally thick. The muscanonje is from head to tail very beautifully spotted, and is I think not inferior to any fish I ever tasted.

For several days past we have been not a little mortified at being confined to a harbor, whilst the Indians are passing us very frequently in their bark canoes. It is astonishing to see these canoes riding large swells without danger. It is certain that they will ride waves whose height exceeds their length.

Many of the bark canoes of the Indians have fallen under our observation. They are generally made of the bark of the birch tree, and shaped differently. We have seen bark canoes loaded with two thousand five hundred weight, which were so light that two men could carry them on their sheulders with great ease. The construction of the smaller description of these boats is so simple, that in an hour they will have a canoe made which will carry several persons across their rivers. We have also seen many of their rafts. These are made for crossing rivers at those seasons of the year when it is not easy to strip the bark from the trees. In all the river bottoms the buckeye wood is to be found.

This they prefer for making a raft, on account of its lightness when dried, it being a wood nearly as light as cork. The Indians tie together small logs of the buckeye wood, to form a square of about five or six feet, this they cross by pieces of any other description of wood, confining piece to piece by bark strings, splits of hoop ash, &c. Upon a raft of this description, three or four persons will cross their rivers even though the currentbe against them.

We had not been long in harbor, before our anxiety to proceed exceeded our patience, and observing in view at an apparent distance of one and a half to two miles from us, about fifty houses resembling a village, we concluded to abandon our peroque, walk to the settlement, and then endeavor to procure horses to take us to Detroit.

At 11 o'clock this morning we set out for this purpose, followed by our men with our baggage on their backs, and after walking over a wet prairie, through mud and water, half a leg and more in depth, for the distance of nearly six miles, we reached the place. Viewing this settlement from the lake, and over a tract so level that the elevation between it and us did not exceed two feet, occasioned us to be so greatly deceived in the distance. On arriving we found that, instead of a village, it was a settlement of French farmers situated along the river Raisin, and presenting a very beautiful scene. The

farms contain from sixty to eighty acres, laid off in parallelograms. The buildings are good, and the gardens and orchards handsome. We understand that about two miles higher up the river there is another settlement composed of about forty families, and upon Otter Creek, about four miles distant, a third settlement containing about thirty families. These people are Roman Catholics. We were soon informed that the distance from here to Detroit was thirty-six miles by land, and that the road passed through so flat and wet a country, for the greater part of the way, that at this season of the year, it was almost impossible to travel it on horseback, and were advised to wait on the wind for a passage by water. We, therefore, concluded to take lodgings at the house of John Bedient, who has offered to entertain us, and dispatched our men to the boat, with instructions to come up the river Raisin for us, as soon as wind and weather permitted; being so wearied and overcome with our "Jack-o-Lantern" excursion, that we could not consent to retrace our steps to the boat.

23d. A strong west wind, attended with heavy rain last night and this day, have prevented our men from getting to us. It is a fact well-known here, that northwest and west winds are as certain to produce cloudy weather as easterly winds with us. This is doubtless owing to the humidity of the vast western lakes. The same winds are severely cold in winter, no doubt from the im-

mense bodies of ice then accumulated upon those lakes.

24th. This morning our men arrived about 8 o'clock, with the peroque, the wind having abated and the weather fair. We again embarked, and on our way down the river Raisin were amused with the great numbers of wild geese, which were at play in the ponds near the margin of the river. They feed here so undisturbedly, that though we were within gun shot of them, they took but little notice of us. We again entered the lake, and encouraged our men to make the best of its smooth surface. They proceeded with great industry, and at night we reached a Wyandot town, called Brown's town, making a distance of about thirty miles. Here we concluded to lodge at the house of William Walker, who is interpreter for those of the Wyandot nation who are settled on this side of the lake. He is married to an Indian woman who speaks good English, and is very conversible. She gave us for supper bacon, bear's meat, and eggs fried, also a dish of tea.

Brownstown is situated at the mouth of the Detroit river, and on the American side. The river Detroit is a vast body of running water. Its mouth is two miles in width, and the water passes out of it into the lake with a strong current. Its channel is wide, generally ten fathoms in depth, and in many places much deeper. The name Detroit *river* is a corruption. Detroit, a

French word, signifies the Strait, a name much more appropos, it being but an outlet from the waters of the western lakes to Lake Erie.

25th. This morning our curiosity led us to take a view of Brownstown. The village contains about one hundred houses, which are generally built of small round logs, and roofed with elm bark. These Indians cultivate a considerable quantity of corn, and their fields are enclosed with rails of their own splitting. We saw a sample of the wheat which they had raised the last season, which looked well. They have gardens and a considerable number of fruit trees. They have a small number of cattle, and raise a large number of hogs. The interpreter says they are greatly disposed to civilization, and have requested of the United States to furnish them this year with cattle, instead of goods or money for their annuity.

After taking breakfast, we again embarked and proceeded up the river Detroit, passing by another Indian town called Walk-in-the-Water village, a name derived from the principal chief of the settlement. The village contains about twenty houses, and bears the same civilized appearance as Brownstown.

After passing the river Le Cas and the river Range, we came opposite to a British town called Sandwich, where, upon an elevated position, we beheld the horrible spectacle of two men hanging in gibbets.

The white settlements, on both the American and British shores of the Detroit, are so near together, that the farms resemble villages. Nearly opposite Sandwich is Detroit, which we reached about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded to the boarding house of the widow Harrison, to whom we had been recommended, having come eighteen miles. In the evening, Charles Jewett and several others came to see us; they told us they had heard of the arrival of some strangers, and expected we were from the interior of the United States; that for a long time they had received no account from the seat of government, and were anxious to hear the news. Having an open letter from the Secretary of War, directed to Charles Jewett, and to the commanding officer at Detroit, we embraced the opportunity to present it. The letter was as follows:

"War Department, February 20th, 1804.

"*Gentlemen*,—This will be handed you by Joel Wright, George Ellicott, and Gerard Hopkins. They are amongst the most respectable members of the Society of Friends in Maryland. Their object is to visit some of the western Indians, for the laudable purpose of encouraging and aiding them in the introduction of agriculture and other improvements essential to the happiness of the red people. They are men of science, information and property, and are en-

titled to the civilities and attention of all good men. You will please to afford them every aid, and should they wish to cross the lake from Detroit to Niagara, and a public vessel being about to sail for that place, accommodations should be afforded them free of expense, and letters of introduction given them to Major Porter.

"I am respectfully

"Your humble servant,

"H. DEARBORN.

"To the Commanding Officer at Detroit, and Charles Jewett, Esq., Indian Agent."

Charles Jewett received us with great civility, and has invited us to dine with him to-morrow, to which we have consented.

4th month 27th. This morning Charles Jewett again called upon us, and at his request we accompanied him to the garrison, and were introduced to the commanding officer, Major Pike, who appears to be a genteel and clever old man. He informed us that a public vessel would sail for Niagara, about the first of the ensuing month, and recommended us very strongly to take passage in her, in preference to any other vessel, she being in good order, and under the management of mariners well acquainted with the lake. This vessel is under his superintendence.

Agreeably to engagement, we dined to-day with Charles Jewett. The revenue officer for the port of Detroit, Captain Ernest, also dined with us.

28th. This day we dined with Major Pike, in compliance with an invitation which he gave us yesterday. He treated us with great respect and attention, and appeared to be pleased with our company. New Jersey being the place of his nativity, he has considerable knowledge of our Society. In the course of conversation he inquired after Peter Yarnall, and says that Peter and himself were in the same military company during the Revolutionary war; he had not heard of his death.

The following circumstance, as related by him, making at the time considerable impression upon me, I have thought proper to record it. He told us that several officers with Peter and himself were lodging together; that one night Peter alarmed them all with loud screams to such a degree that on first awaking he supposed the enemy had fallen upon their army with bayonets. Peter was on his feet, and appeared to be awake. They spoke to him repeatedly, and endeavored to approach him, but every advance they made increased his alarm. Finally he recovered himself and became composed, and for several days afterwards, instead of satisfying their inquiries, appeared to be sunk in distress and gloom. He afterwards told them he considered his alarm as a warning to him, and that his fright arose from a plain representation of the devil, come to take him off. Peter in a short time left the army, and (said the Major) I always believed that his

reformation had its rise from that circumstance.

28th. This day we dined with Robert Monroe, factor of the United States in the Indian Department. At his table we met our friend Charles Jewett, the revenue officer before named, Judge Henry and Lawyer Sibley.

29th. This day we dined with Frederick Bates, at his lodgings. He is descended from Friends, and discovers great partiality for our company. He is a young man of superior understanding, and is much esteemed in Detroit. I feel and fear for the situation of this young man. It is not in human nature to support good principles unblemished, when left alone to stem the torrent of fashionable and fascinating vices. Detroit is a place of great corruption.

30th. This day we rode nine miles up the river Detroit to take a view of Lake St. Clair. This lake is thirty miles in length, and twenty miles in width. We had a beautiful prospect of it, from a commanding situation. I ought to have mentioned that bordering the river, the whole distance from Detroit to the lake, the land is handsomely improved. The houses are so near each other that the margin of the river looks like a village. These farms are grants made by the French government nearly a century ago. They uniformly lie in parallelograms containing about one hundred acres. Added to tolerable dwelling houses are the handsomest apple orchards I ever saw. The extraordinary

heathfulness of the trees, indicates a suitableness of climate or soil, or both.

The pear trees also are very large and handsome; but their cherry and peach trees do not thrive well, the climate being too cold for them.

In this little excursion we were accompanied by Frederick Bates, and returned in time to comply with an invitation we had received to dine with Doctor Davis. Major Pike, and several others, dined with us.

5th month 1st. We this day dined with Dr. Wilkinson, who removed from the lower part of the State of Maryland. Were we as fond of eating and drinking as the people of Detroit appear to be, it would be no marvel if we should forget our homes, and think ourselves well enough entertained where we are; but whilst we have been under an apparent necessity of yielding to the invitations we have received during (shall I say?) *our imprisonment here*, we know we have been very anxious for the time to arrive, in which we may embark homewards, and hope that tomorrow morning the vessel for which we have been waiting will sail.

2d. This morning, wind and weather appearing to permit, we were informed that at 9 o'clock the vessel would sail. We accordingly bade farewell to our acquaintance, and went on board the United States brig called the John Adams, commanded by Commodore Brevoort. About 9 o'clock sail was hoisted, and we proceeded to

the mouth of the river Detroit, when night coming on, and the wind being unfavorable, we anchored near the British shore, and opposite to the town of Malden.

3d. Weighed anchor. Winds light and opposite; anchored again about 8 o'clock in the evening, near an island called the Middle Sister.

4th. About 4 o'clock this morning again weighed anchor, and a calm coming on about 10 o'clock, we anchored again near Middle Bass Island, where we were confined the remainder of the day. In the afternoon some of us amused ourselves with fishing. The small boat was rowed by several hands around the island, whilst we cast our lines, about thirty feet in length, having hooks baited with the skin of pork and covered in part with a piece of red cloth. In a short time we caught upwards of five dozen black bass, justly esteemed an excellent fish, and weighing from four to six pounds. The lake water is so clear, that fish can be seen from twelve to fifteen feet below the surface. Many of the fish we caught, we saw advancing to our hooks.

5th. At 4 o'clock this morning again hoisted sail. Weather windy, attended with rain. We had not proceeded far before a head wind opposed our sailing, and we cast anchor at an island called Middle Island. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon a heavy rain and thunder gust coming on, it was deemed safest to return back a few leagues.

to a harbor called Put-in-Bay, where we lay during the night.

6th. This morning at 6 o'clock we again hoisted sail; wind and weather clear and pleasant. We are now, 9 o'clock at night, under sail.

7th. Have been under sail last night and this day until evening, when we cast anchor opposite to Presqueile, for the purpose of landing a part of our passengers.

8th. During last night lay at Presqueile, and this morning put on shore the passengers bound for that place, after which, the wind heading us, we lay at anchor the rest of the day. Presqueile is a town on the American side of the lake, containing about forty houses, several of which are stores. A small garrison of the United States is stationed here.

9th. About 10 o'clock last night, a light favorable breeze sprung up, which encouraged us to proceed. The vessel has been all night and during the day under sail. At 8 o'clock in the evening we dropped anchor, within four miles of Niagara river. Our commander says that the channel leading into the harbor, is rocky and dangerous, and deems it imprudent to attempt an entrance at night.

It is a pleasing reflection, that we are so near to the end of our passage over the lake; and we are gladdened with the hope, that we shall shortly prosecute the remainder of our journey over terra firma, where we shall not be subject to

the impediments of opposing winds, and be freed from the dangers of storms. Lake Erie is a very beautiful body of water, 300 miles in length and generally from 50 to 60 in width. Much of the distance we have sailed has been out of sight of land. The water of the lake appears to be of a beautiful deep green color, but when taken up in a glass vessel, is to be admired for its transparency. I think it is, without exception, the sweetest water I ever drank.

10th. At 4 o'clock this morning our anchor was again hoisted, and in about half an hour we were safely moored at Fort Erie. This is a small fort on the Canadian shore of the lake, garrisoned by the British. Immediately on our arrival, we set out on foot for Buffalo, distant 5 miles, a town situated at the junction of Buffalo Creek with Lake Erie, and near the commencement of the outlet of the lake, commonly called Niagara river. The object of this excursion was to obtain a conveyance across the country to the nearest line of public stages. We were successful in an application to one of the inhabitants, who agreed to furnish us with a light wagon, to be in readiness two day's hence. Here we met with Erasmus Granger, an agent of the United States, in the Indian Department. We had conversation with him at considerable length on Indian affairs. He tells us that many individuals amongst the Indians of his district, (who are of

the Six Nations,) are turning their attention to agriculture.

About mid-day we returned in a small boat to our vessel. After dining on board, we went on shore at Fort Erie, and joined by our Commodore and Lieutenant Cox, a passenger with us from Detroit, we engaged a light wagon to return with us at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning, to view the Falls of Niagara, distant about eighteen miles. We extended our walk for a considerable distance along the shore of Lake Erie; it is here composed of a solid body of limestone, beautifully marbled.

11th. This morning we sat out for the Falls of Niagara; our road passed near the margin of Niagara river, from the lake to the Falls, a distance of 18 miles, which afforded us a view both of the river, and of the adjacent improvements. The land is generally under cultivation, and is tolerably improved. The soil appears rather cold and stiff; but some of the meadows are nearly equal to the best I ever saw; some of the farms belong to members of our society, and we are told that there is a meeting of Friends not far distant from the Falls. Considerable emigrations are making from the United States, to this as well as other parts of Upper Canada, owing to the very advantageous terms upon which the British Government dispose of the land, being scarcely removed from a gift.

We reached a Canadian town called Chippewa, to breakfast, after which we walked to the Falls,

a distance of two miles. This was a walk, of which every step seemed to increase curiosity and surprise. Our attention was soon arrested by a cloud which hangs perpetually over the Falls for the height of 600 feet, arising from the dashing of the waters.

As we advanced to the Falls the solid earth and rocks shook, or seemed to shake, under our feet, whilst the roar of the waters so overpowered every other sound that, notwithstanding we were tete-a-tete, it was necessary to raise the voice to a very loud key in order to be heard. Meanwhile the cloud above mentioned issued continually in what we sometimes hear called a Scotch mist.

There is a common saying, "Those who know no danger, fear none." This was our case on returning to the extremity of an overjutting rock, called Table Rock, opposite to the great cataract, in order to gratify our curiosity, in a peep down the precipice which is more than 150 feet perpendicular. In passing afterwards a short distance below this rock, we were alarmed with the discovery, that the place on which we had stood was but a thin shell, the Falls having undermined the rock for many feet. Proceeding a little lower down the Falls, we again found that our second stand was almost as baseless. We however supposed that the danger was not equal to our apprehensions, as the names of great numbers of visitors were cut in these rocks, near their

extremities. I shall not attempt to give a particular description of the Falls of Niagara, which has been done by persons who have visited them, for the especial purpose of gratifying the curious. After we had gratified our curiosity in a view of them we returned to Fort Erie, and after night were rowed in a small boat to Buffalo town, in order to be in readiness for setting out homeward in the morning.

12th. The person who has engaged to take us on our journey this morning has disappointed us. The circumstance is a trial, as we have become very anxious to reach our homes. Being at leisure we accompanied the Indian agent in a ride, four miles above Buffalo Creek, to an Indian village of the Senecas, one of the tribes of the Six Nations.

They are making considerable progress in agriculture, live in tolerable log houses, and have a number of cattle, horses and hogs. We saw many of them at work; they were preparing the ground for the plough by rolling logs, taking up stumps, &c.

We also saw among them a large plough at work, drawn by three yoke of oxen, and attended by three Indians. They all appeared to be very merry, and to be pleased with our visit. The land upon which these Indians are settled is of a superior quality. We saw amongst them Red Jacket, Farmers Brother, and several other distinguished Chiefs. Many of these Indians wor-

in their ears, and round their necks, strung upon strings, several descriptions of Lake shells. Here we met with Saccarissa, a principal chief of the Tuscarora tribe. He has come for the purpose of being assisted by the agent in vesting fifteen thousand dollars in the purchase of land from the Holland Land Company. They have greatly declined hunting, and are becoming agriculturists. The Tuscarora Indians removed from North Carolina many years ago, and were received into the then Five Nations, or Iroquois Indians, who gave them a small tract of country, which they now think wants enlarging. It is a fact, that the Six Nations have stock in the Bank of the United States to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars, from which they draw regular dividends. This is money which they received some years ago from our Government for the sale of their lands.

The Chiefs and principal people took the advice of General Washington, in making bank stock of their money.

13th. This morning we set out from Buffalo in a farm wagon drawn by two horses, and travelled 32 miles through a rough and inferior country.

14th. Proceeded 23 miles and reached Batavia, a new town, handsomely situated. We have had a muddy, disagreeable road, through a country too flat to be desirable. The land is pretty rich, and very heavily timbered. We have been

all day followed by millions of mosquitoes; crossed a handsome stream called the Tantawantae, and were told at the Ford that a little distance above us 120 rattle snakes lay dead. These snakes were killed by some fishermen with their spears, the warm weather having brought them out of their dens. People are making settlements here very rapidly.

15th. Travelled 33 miles, and lodged at Warner's Tavern. The land for the most part tolerable. The New England people are making many handsome settlements here. They have built fine farm houses, planted handsome orchards, and emigration is increasing. The stone is mostly limestone. We passed for several miles over a tract covered with limestone, which contained a great variety of curious marine shells. The country affords many fine springs; one which we passed contains water sufficient to turn a mill. We also passed through a large Indian town, near the Genesee river, and to-day crossed that river, where its width is about 100 feet.

16th. At 6 o'clock this morning we again proceeded; passed near Hemlock lake, and Honey lake, of which the waters empty into the Genesee river. The face of the country is generally tolerable, but stony. We to-day also saw the same appearances of marine shells as yesterday. About mid-day we reached the town of Canandaigua; situated upon a lake of that name, about 20 miles in length, and from one to two

miles in width; its waters empty into Lake Ontario. The improvements on this tract are astonishingly handsome for a new country, particularly through a settlement called Bloomfield. At Canandaigua, we exchanged a rough wagon, for the public stage, a circumstance additionally gratifying to us from the hope that we shall now proceed homewards with expedition. At 2 o'clock set out in the stage, and reached the town of Geneva where we lodged. This is a handsome new town situated upon Seneca lake, a body of water forty miles in length, and from three to three and half miles in width.

17th. Travelled about fifty miles and lodged at the village of Onandagua. On our way we reached a handsome wooden bridge one mile in length, over Cayuga Lake.

18th. Travelled fifty miles to the handsome town of Utica, situated on the Mohawk river. Passed near Oneida Lake, and through a large settlement of Indians of the Oneida tribe. Their town consists of about seven hundred Indians. They have good houses, a meeting house, barns and orchards. Their land is under cultivation, is level, and appears to be of good quality. We saw many of them in their fields preparing for corn. These Indians have been greatly aided in agriculture, by the Friends of Philadelphia.

19th. This morning we again proceeded, and at night lodged at a small village called Georgetown, making a distance of fifty miles. Our road

led us the whole distance along the Mohawk river.

The Bottoms along this river are called the German Flats, and are very rich and handsome. They were settled many years ago by the Germans. We stopped to view the Falls in the river, where the navigation is made easy by locks; a very romantic place, there being limestone rock of enormous size, both in the water and upon the hills. In proceeding along the bottoms of this river there are many marks which indicate that at some period of time there was a vast body of water covering these Flats. The Flats are generally from half a mile to a mile in width; their margins are a continuation of hills on each side, which are from two to three hundred feet in height; the surface of the hills show stones of great size, which are washed into all shapes; added to this, the hills discover evident appearances of those indentures common to river shores.

20th. Again prosecuted our journey, passing along the Mohawk river to the town of Schenectady, where we crossed the river, and in the evening reached the town of Albany upon the North river, making a distance of forty eight miles. I cannot but observe here, that in proceeding along the Mohawk river to-day, we came to the end of those high chains of hills mentioned yesterday, where the country made quite a level appearance; so that we were puzzled to conjecture what became of the earth which had

enclosed so great a body of water, as the hills seem to declare once washed their summits. I may add, in humble confession, that in the course of our long journey, I have had frequent occasions to acknowledge, in a view of those extraordinary and inexplicable natural curiosities, which have fallen under our observation, the truth of that excellent sentiment of a religious poet,

"Nature is wrapt up,
In tenfold night, from reason's keenest eye."—YOUNG.

Between Schenectady and Albany the country is the poorest I ever saw. The surface is a body of sand, producing scarcely a tree. Surely one of Churchill's lines, relative to a part of Scotland, may with propriety be applied to this tract,

"Here half starved spiders feed on half starved flies."

21st. Having concluded to go by water from Albany to New York, at 3 o'clock this afternoon, we set sail, and at six o'clock in the evening of the 23d reached New York, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles.

24th. At 8 o'clock this morning, we took public stage, and passing through the city of Philadelphia, reached Baltimore on First-day the 27th of 5th month, 1804. Here reader, allow me to add I was gladdened with the favor of being permitted safely to return to my home, and

grateful for the additional blessing of finding my dear wife and infant children all well.

We were absent on this visit three months and four days, and travelled about two thousand miles.

APPENDIX.

Whilst engaged in taking a copy of the preceding journal, I have been induced to examine the manuscripts left by the late George Ellicott, of Ellicott's Mills, the companion in this embassy of the author of the narrative, to discover if I could find amongst them any matter concerning the Indians, and of the care manifested by the Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting on their behalf. In the course of this investigation a variety of material on the subjects mentioned has presented, from which I have gleaned some fragments, which, as they promise to be interesting to the readers of the present day, are herewith presented.

The first extracts are from the unpublished account of a journey to Upper Sandusky, in 1799, performed by some of the members of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and written by George Ellicott. He appears to have considered that any narrative of the kind should be preceded by information concerning the Indians, as they were in former years; and had therefore prepared a preface to this work, compiled from the writings of Jefferson, and other authorities, from which the following is taken: T.

"When the first effectual settlement was made in Virginia,* which was in the year 1607, the country from the sea coast to the mountains, and from the Potomac to the most southern waters of James river, was occupied by upwards of forty different tribes of Indians. Of these, the Powhatans, the Mannahoacs, and Monacans, were the most powerful. Those between the falls of the rivers and the mountains were divided into two confederacies; the tribes inhabiting the head waters of the Potomac and Rappahannock being attached to the Mannahoars, and those on the upper part of James river to the Monacans. But the Monacans and their friends were in amity with the Mannahoars and their friends, and waged joint and perpetual war against the Powhatans. We are told that the Powhatans, Mannahoacs, and Monacans, spoke languages so radically different, that interpreters were necessary when they transacted business. Hence we may conjecture that this was not the case between all the tribes, and probably that each spoke the language of the nation to which it was attached, which is known to have been the case in many particular instances. Very possibly there may have been anciently three different stocks, each of which multiplying in a long course of time, had separated into so many little societies. This practice results from

*See Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

the circumstance of their never having submitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power, or any shadow of government. Their only contrasts are their manners, and that moral sense of right and wrong which, like the sense of tasting and feeling in every man, makes a part of his nature. An offence against these is punished by contempt, by exclusion from society, or, where the case is serious, as that of murder, by the individuals whom it concerns. Imperfect as this species of coercion may seem, crimes are very rare amongst them, insomuch that were it made a question whether no law, as among the native Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits men to the greatest evil; one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last, and that the sheep are happier of themselves, than under the care of wolves. It will be said that great societies cannot exist without the aid of government. The savages therefore break themselves into small ones. The territories of the Powhatan confederacy south of the Potomac, comprehended about 8000 square miles, 30 tribes, and 2400 hundred warriors. Captain Smith tells us, that within 60 miles of Jamestown were 5000 people, of whom 1500 were warriors. From this we find the proportion of their warriors to their whole inhabitants was as 3 to 10. The Powhatan confederacy then would consist of about 8,000 inhabitants, which was one for every square

mile; being about the twentieth part of our present population in the same territory, and the hundredth of that of the British Islands. The numbers of some of them are stated as they were in the year 1669, when an attempt was made by the Assembly to enumerate them. Probably the enumeration is imperfect, and in some measure conjectural, and that a further search into the records would furnish many more particulars. What would be the melancholy sequel of their history, may, however, be augured from the census of 1669, by which we discover that the tribes therein mentioned and enumerated, were, in the space of 62 years reduced to about one-third of their former number. Spirituous liquors, the small pox, war, and an abridgment of territory, to a people who lived principally on the spontaneous productions of nature, had committed great havoc among them. That the lands of this country (Virginia,) were taken from them by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed. We find in our histories and records, repeated proofs of purchase which cover a considerable part of the lower country, and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country, we know, has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form, westward of all these tribes, beyond the mountains, and extending to the great lakes on the Massawomics, a most powerful confederacy, who

harassed unremittingly the Powhatans and Mannahoacs. These were probably the ancestors of the tribes known at present by the name of the Six Nations. Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The Chickalaminies removed about 1661 to Mattapony river. Their chief, with one of each of the tribes of the Pamunkies and Mattahonys, attended the meeting at Albany, in 1685; this seems to be the last chapter in their history. The Monacans and their friends, better known latterly by the name of Tuscaroras, were probably connected with the Massawomics, or Five Nations; for though we are told that their languages were so different that the intervention of interpreters was necessary between them, yet we also learn that the Erigas, a nation formerly inhabiting the Ohio, were of the same original stock with the Five Nations, and that they partook also of the Tuscarora language. Their dialects might, by long separation, have become so unlike as to be unintelligible to each other. We know, that in 1712, the Five Nations received the Tuscaroras in their confederacy, and made them the Sixth Nation. All the nations of Indians in North America, lived in the hunter's state, and depended for subsistence on hunting, fishing, and the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and a kind of grain, which was planted and gathered by the women, and is now known by the name of Indian corn. Long po-

tatoes, pumpkins, and squashes of various kinds were also found in use among them. They had no flocks, herds, or tamed animals of any kind. Their government a kind of patriarchal confederacy. Every town or family has a chief, who is distinguished by a particular title, and whom we commonly call "Sachem." The several towns or families that compose the tribes have a chief who presides over it, and the several tribes composing a nation have a chief who presides over the whole nation. Those chiefs are generally men advanced in age, and distinguished for their prudence and abilities in council; the matters which merely regard a town or family, are settled by the chief and principal men of the town, those which regard a tribe, such as the appointment of head warriors or captains, and settling differences between tribes and families, are regulated at a meeting of the chiefs from the different towns; and those which regard the whole nation, such as making war, concluding peace, or forming alliances with the neighboring nations. are deliberated and determined in a national council, composed of the chiefs of the tribes, attended by their head warriors, and a number of chiefs from the towns, who are his counsellors. In every town, there is a council house, where the chiefs and men of the town assemble when occasion requires, and consult what is proper to be done. Every tribe has a fixed place for the chief of the towns to meet and consult on the

business of the tribe. And in every nation, there is what they call the central council house, or council fire, where the chiefs of the several tribes, with the principal warriors, convene to consult and determine on their national affairs. When any matter is proposed in the national council, it is common for the chiefs of the several tribes to consult thereon apart with their counsellors, and when they have agreed, to deliver the opinion of the tribe at the national council. And as their government seems to rest wholly on persuasion, they endeavor by mutual concessions to obtain unanimity. Such is the government that still exists among the Indian nations bordering on the United States. To the northward of these, there was another powerful nation, which occupied the country from the head of the Chesapeake Bay, up to the Kittatinny mountain, and as far eastward as Connecticut river, comprehending that part of New York, which lies between the Highlands and the ocean. All the State of New Jersey, that part of Pennsylvania which is watered below the range of Kittatinny Mountains, by the rivers or streams falling into the Delaware, and the County of New Castle, in the State of Delaware as far as Duck Creek. It is to be observed that nations of Indians distinguish their countries one from another, by natural boundaries, such as ranges of mountains or streams of water. But as the heads of rivers frequently interlock or approach

near to each other, as those who live upon a stream claim the country watered by it, they often encroached on each other, and this was a constant source of war between the different nations.

The nation occupying the tract of country last described, called themselves Lenapi, and among us they are better known as Delawares; this nation consisted of five tribes, who all spoke one language; first, the Chihohocki, who dwelt on the west side of the river, now called Delaware, a name given to it by Lord De-la-War, who put into it on his passage from Virginia, but which was called by the Indians, Chichohocki. Second, the Wanami, who inhabited the country called New Jersey, from the Raritan to the sea. Third, the Munsey, who dwelt on the upper streams of the Delaware, from the Kittatinny mountains down to the Lehigh or western branch of the Delaware and Hudson rivers, from the Kittatinny down to the Raritan. Fifth, the Mahicon or Mahattan, who occupied Staten Island, York Island, (which, from its being the principal seat of their residence, was formerly called Mahattan.) Long Island, and that part of N. York and Connecticut, which lies between Connecticut and Hudson rivers, from the highlands, which is a continuance of the Kittatinny ridge down to the sound. The nation had a close alliance with the Shawanese, who lived on the Susquehanna and to the westward of that river, as far as the Alleghany mountains, and carried on a long

war with another powerful nation of Indians, who lived to the north of them, between the Kittatinny mountains, or highlands, and Lake Ontario, and who call themselves Mingoes, and are called by the French writers, Iroquois, by the English, Five Nations, and by the Indians to the southward, with whom they were at war, Massawomics; this war was carrying on in its greatest fury, when Captain Smith first arrived in Virginia. The Mingo warriors had penetrated down the Susquehanna to the mouth of it. The Mingo nation consisted of five tribes; three, who are called the Elder, to wit: the Senecas, who live to the west, the Mohawks, to the east, and the Onondagoes between them; and two, who are called the younger tribes, namely, the Cayugas and Oneidas. All these tribes spoke one language, and were thus united in a close confederacy, and occupied that tract of country from the last end of Lake Erie to Lake Champlain, and from the Kittatinny and highlands to the Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence. This nation turned their arms against the Lenapi, and as this war was long and doubtful, they, in the course of it, not only exerted their whole force, but put in practice every measure which prudence or policy could devise to bring it to a successful issue. For this purpose they bent their course down the Susquehanna, warring with the Indians in their way, and having penetrated as far as the mouth

of it, they, by the terror of their arms, engaged a nation, known by the name of the Nanticocks, Coneys and Lutetocs, and who lived between Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and bordering on the territory of Chihohocki, to enter into an alliance with them; they also formed an alliance with the Monahans, and stimulated them to war with the Lenapi, and their confederates. At the same time the Mohawks carried on a furious war down the Hudson against the Mohiccons and river Indians, and compelled them to purchase a temporary and precarious peace, by each acknowledging them to be their superiors, and paying an annual tribute.

The Lenapi being surrounded with enemies and hard pressed, and having lost many of their warriors, were compelled at last to sue for peace, which was granted them on the condition that they should put themselves under the protection of the Mingoes, confine themselves to raising corn, hunting for the subsistence of their families, and no longer have the power of making war.

This is what the Indians call making them women. Under this condition the Lenapis were when William Penn first arrived, and began the settlement of Pennsylvania in the year 1682.

In Sept. 1700, the Indians residing on the Susquehanna, granted to William Penn all their lands on both sides of the river. The Indians living on the Susquehanna and Potomac and

the Shawanese, entered into articles of agreement with Wm. Penn, by which, on certain conditions of peaceable and friendly behaviour, they were permitted to settle about the head of Potomac, in Pennsylvania. The Conestoga chiefs, also, in 1701, ratified the grant of the Susquehanna Indians made the preceding year of 1700. Wm. Penn obtained from the Sachems of the country a confirmation of grants made by former Indians of the lands from Duck Creek to the mountains, and from the Delaware to the mountains, and from the Delaware to the Susquehanna; in this deed the Sachems declared that they had seen and heard read divers prior deeds which had been given to Wm. Penn by former chiefs.

In the year 1672, Gov. Lovelace, of New York, by proclamation, ordered that four white grains or beads, and three black ones shall pass for a penny or stiver; this proclamation was published at Albany, Esopus, Delaware, Long Island, and at the ports adjacent; and that wampum was a passing medium of the country at that time.

A treaty was entered into at the mouth of the Great Miami, between the United States and the Shawanese Nation, in the year 1786, by which the United States do allot them lands with their territory to live and hunt upon. Beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wyandots and Delawares, at the place where the main of the Great Miami and of the

Ohio intersects said line, then down the Miami to the forks of that river below the old fort taken by the French in 1752, thence due west to the river De-la-Panse; thence down that river to the Wabash, beyond which line none of the people or citizens of the United States shall settle or disturb the Shawanese in their settlement and possessions; and the Shawanese do relinquish to the United States all title they ever had to lands, east, west, and south, of the east, west, and south of lines before described. Signed by G. Clark, Richard Butler, Saml. H. Parsons, and eight Indians, and witnessed by a number of Indians and whites. The Indian witnesses were of the Delaware and Wyandot nations; Isaac Zane (a Wyandot), and the Crane of the Wyandots are among them."

The first movement made by the Society of Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting for the benefit of the Indians, after the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, was commenced about one year subsequent to the treaty of Grenville; whereby a peace had been concluded between the United States and the hostile tribes, northwest of the river Ohio. For many years those Indians had proved themselves to be the formidable enemies of the white emigrants who settled near them, and of the armies of the United States, sent out to compel them to submit to the occupation of a territory which they continued to regard as their own property. Hav-

ing been greatly improved in warlike discipline, and in the use of European firearms, by serving under the French commanders in former wars, they adhered to any pacific agreements no longer than their fears or their interests restrained them; and rested in the determination never to abandon their lands northwest of the Ohio river. They had defeated General Harmer, with the loss of the greater part of his army, on the banks of the St. Joseph's river in 1791; and an expedition sent against them shortly after, under the command of General St. Clair, was completely routed. In this engagement the Little Turtle,* so often alluded to in the foregoing pages, was the commander-in-chief of the Indian forces, and displayed feelings of humanity towards his retreating foes, of which few examples have been furnished in the history of Indian warfare, and which reflects honor on his character.

On beholding the white soldiers fleeing before the exasperated Indians, and at every moment cut down by the weight of their tomahawks, his heart revolted at the sight, and ascending an eminence, he gave the singular cry, which commanded his men to cease from further pursuit and return to their camps; he also sent out messengers to inform them, wherever scattered, that "they must be satisfied with the carnage,

* Michikiniqua, was the Indian name of this chief.

having killed enough." By this effort on his part many lives were spared.

After this defeat, so unlooked for by the United States, General Wayne, who had succeeded General St. Clair, arrived with his army upon the location where that officer had been defeated, in the 9th month, (Sept.) 1793, and immediately built Fort Wayne. The next year he brought the Indians to a decisive engagement in the vicinity, in which they were overthrown with great slaughter. This humiliation lessened their high estimate of their own strength and disposed them to peace, and a treaty was concluded between them and General Wayne, who acted as a commissioner of the United States, at Grenville, (1794), by which the tribes northwest of the river Ohio, gave up the lands so long the object of contention, and accepting a reservation in the neighborhood of the Lakes, came under the protection of the United States, upon terms at that time considered mutually satisfactory and beneficial.

The Little Turtle, who appears to have had a just idea of the importance of the lands about to be ceded to our government, remained for a long time inflexible, resolved upon procuring more favorable conditions. He was deeply attached to the country which had been his birthplace, and in common with all his brethren considered it belonged to the Indians by right of possession from the Great Spirit, who, they

believed, after he had made the earth, sun, moon and stars, had placed the red man on this continent, and bestowed it upon him and his children. He knew also, that the whole region around was made dear to them by every cherished remembrance; their recollections of the happy abode of the red people therein for many generations before the coming of the white men to settle amongst them; as connected also with the sports and pastimes of their youth, and with the enjoyments of their more manly pursuits in maturer years, and moreover as containing the graves and other monuments of their fathers. These recollections were all quickened and increased in importance by the knowledge that, in relinquishing the possession of this fine territory, they yielded up forests filled with herds of deer, and other game which, by the addition of the fruits of their grounds, rich and fertile almost without precedent, gave them, even with their rude mode of tillage, an ample supply for their simple wants. He seemed also to be filled with apprehension, lest when settled within the confined boundaries, which were to be theirs by the conditions of the treaty, that his countrymen would be too slow in adopting the habits of civilized life; and as the supply of wild animals must soon be exhausted, would suffer many privations in consequence of the change. As such were his feelings, can any thoughtful person be astonished at his resolutions?

Convinced at last, that no alternative awaited him, he consented to sign the compact, remarking to the officers present, as he affixed his signature, "I have been the last to consent to this agreement; I will be the last to break it." He remained true to his affirmation.

The following extracts are selected from a brief account of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, from its appointment in 1795 to the completion of the journey to Fort Wayne, by G. T. Hopkins and George Ellicott, in 1804.

The Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, and, also, that of Philadelphia, appear to have directed their attention almost simultaneously to an effort for the improvement of the Indians, and a committee was accordingly appointed in each of these Yearly Meetings, in the autumn of 1795, to take the subject under care.

"In Baltimore Yearly Meeting, held by adjournments, from the 12th day of the Tenth month to the 16th of the same, inclusive, 1795, Evan Thomas being clerk, and John Cox assistant clerk, the exercise with regard to the Indians commenced by a weighty concern being opened, concerning the difficulties and distress to which the Indian natives of this land are subject; and many observations were made on the kindness of their ancestors to the white people, in the early settlement of this country, exciting a deep consideration and enquiry, whether under

the influence of that exalted benevolence and good will to men, (which our holy profession requires,) anything remains for us to do to promote their welfare, their religious instruction, knowledge of agriculture, and the useful mechanic arts. A solemnity and uniting calm prevailing over the meeting, the further consideration of the subject was referred to another meeting, when the condition of the distressed Indian natives being again revived, the sentiments of many brethren expressed, and a prevailing sympathy felt, it appears to be the united sense of this meeting, that it be recommended to our Quarterly and Monthly Meetings to take this concern into serious consideration, and open subscriptions among our members for their relief and the encouragement of school education, husbandry, and the mechanic arts, amongst that people. As it appears their situation demands immediate attention, we hope a spirit of liberality will be manifested;* and those who find

* This call of Baltimore Yearly Meeting upon its members was promptly met. But the sums of money, thus collected, do not appear to have been often used to defray the travelling expenses of the Friends appointed by the Indian Committee to visit the tribes North-west of the river Ohio. Those who accepted such commissions prepared their own outfit and defrayed their own charges, except in one, two, or at the most, three instances, where such an expenditure would have been oppressive to the individuals concerned, on which occasions the necessary funds were supplied by the committee.

freedom to subscribe, are desired to put their contributions into the hands of the following Friends, who are appointed to receive and apply the same, in such manner as will best answer the benevolent designs of this meeting, carefully guarding against giving offence to government, viz:—

John Wilson,	Joseph Bond,
John M'Kim,	Joseph Beeson,
John Branen,	John Butcher,
Evan Thomas,	Benjamin Walker,
Allan Farquhar,	Israel Janney,
John Love,	David Branen,
Caleb Kirk,	Gouldsmith Chandlee,
Jonathan Wright, of Monallen,	Moses Dillon,
	Elias Ellicott,
Thomas Matthews,	Nathan Heald,

David Greane."

The Friends above named composed the first Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting for Indian Affairs, and their appointment was witnessed by "John Wigam, a minister from North Britain, who attended with a certificate from Aberdeen Monthly Meeting, dated 17th of Fourth month, 1794, and endorsed by the Half-year's Meeting, held at Edinburgh, 28th of same month; and, also, a certificate from the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held in London, dated 17th of Fifth month, 1794, all

expressive of the unity of the Friends of those meetings in his visit to these parts."

Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young also produced certificates to the Yearly Meeting at the same time, both from the "Monthly Meeting held at Coalbrookdale, in Shropshire, England, dated the 20th of Third month, 1793, endorsed by the Yearly Meeting for Wales, held at Hermarthan, the 25th of Fourth month, 1793. Also certificates from the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held in London, the 18th, 20th, 23d and 29th of Fifth month, 1793." The company and labors of love of these Friends from Great Britain, are acknowledged to have been satisfactory to Baltimore Yearly Meeting. * They were partakers with them in their exercises for the advancement of truth and righteousness, and sympathized in all their concerns.

The first important meeting of the Indian Committee was held at Pipe creek, (where the Meeting for Sufferings of Baltimore Yearly Meeting then frequently convened,) the 22d of the Fifth month, 1796; ten members being present. The meeting was opened by the expression of a

* The records of Baltimore Yearly Meeting for 1796, contain minutes, almost precisely similar to those given above, of the appointment of the Indian Committee, and the presence of the Friends from Great Britain at the time.

desire, by one of the committee, that every member of the Society of Friends would be willing to give sanction to the benevolent experiment recommended by the Yearly Meeting; a sentiment which was united with by all present. These good resolutions were much strengthened and encouraged by a letter they then opened and read, from the Indian Committee of Philadelphia, dated Third month 24th, 1796, * which set forth "that they had addressed their Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, and, also, Particular Meetings, on the sufferings of the Indians, and had sent them, with the minutes from Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, extracts from divers speeches and letters from Indian Chiefs; all tending to spread useful information, and draw the attention of our members to the situation of these distressed people;" some of them had also visited the President of the United States, George Washington, (at the time in Philadelphia,) and acquainted him with the views of our religious Society, on behalf of the Indians. They had, also, conferred with the Secretary of State, who had manifested a desire to co-operate with the Friends, in promoting the interests of the Indians. They had addressed a circular letter "to

* Rebecca Jones, in a letter to a son of Catherine Phillips, of England, dated in the autumn of 1795, mentions the appointment of the Philadelphia Committee for Indian Affairs.

the different tribes of those called the Six Nations," representing a desire "to assist them in attaining a more comfortable, quiet, and peaceable mode of life," and expressed an opinion that the distresses and difficulties the Indians labor under may, in a great degree, be attributed to their propensity to the use of spirituous liquors, introduced among them by traders and evil-minded persons, and suggested a plan by which the trade in liquors might be checked in part, if not fully. They conclude:—"As, in our attention to this concern, anything shall arise that may be deemed useful and proper to communicate, we mean to impart the same, desiring like care may rest with you, that what may occur useful herein may be intimated to your loving friends."

Addressed to John Brown, Elias Ellicott, John M'Kim, and others, Members of the Committee of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, on the Indian Concern, &c.

Signed by

John Parrish,	William Savery,
Henry Drinker,	John Hunt,
Benjamin Sweet,	John Pierce,
Warner Mifflin,	John Biddle,
Thomas Harrison,	Joseph Sansom,

John Elliott.

Any communication to the Philadelphia Committee on Indian Concerns, was to be addressed

to Thomas Wistar, Clerk of the Committee, who had authority to call a meeting of their Sub-Committee of fifteen Friends, on "necessary occasions."

The committee remained two days in session at Pipe Creek, deliberated on their benevolent purposes, addressed a reply to their Friends, John Parrish and others, in Philadelphia, through Thomas Wistar, and "appointed John Brown, Jonathan Wright, Israel Janney, Moses Dillon, and Joseph Bond, to pay a visit to the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, and other nations northwest of the river Ohio, or to such parts of them as they shall find freedom; approbation of the government being first obtained." They also addressed a letter to the Indians to whom they were about to send a mission, in which they informed them that the Quakers, at their general religious council in Philadelphia, having agreed to take some of the "Six Nations, who live in the North, by the hand, our religious council held last fall in Baltimore were also concerned for your welfare who reside in the West."

"They have told us to endeavor to speak with you and get acquainted with your nations. For this purpose we have sent our beloved brothers, John Brown, Israel Janney, Jonathan Wright, Moses Dillon, and Joseph Bond, to shake hands with you in your tent, and to ask if you wish to be instructed how to raise corn

and wheat for bread, on your own land, as we do; and to get meat at home without hunting, and to weave blankets and clothes for yourselves, your wives, and your children; and also to enquire whether you wish to have your children taught to read and write, and to do such other things as will make you live comfortably under the shade of the great tree of peace. We wish you to speak to us freely with the mouths of your nations, and if it is agrecable to you we will talk to you again. Farewell.

"Signed on behalf of our aforesaid Religious Council of the people called Quakers, the 23d of 5th month, 1796, by

Allen Farquhar,
Benjamin Walker,
David Brown,
Elias Ellicott,
Caleb Kirk."

Previous to the departure of this delegation to the Indian settlements, they were furnished with permission for the purpose "by the United States government, expressed in two letters from the Secretary of State, and addressed to Governor St. Clair, and to General Wayne, being as follows.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Philadelphia, May 31*st*, 1796.

"SIR,—Mr. Henry Drinker of this city, whose respectable standing among the Society of

Friends, and as our fellow citizen, you well know, has informed me, that a delegation of five prudent, judicious men, of religious character, have been deputed by their brethren of that Society in Maryland to visit the Indian Tribes N. West of the river Ohio, for the purpose of learning their situation and disposition, and thence to judge of the practicability of introducing among them the simplest and most useful arts of civil life. The result of their inquiries and observations they are to report on their return to the Society.

The approbation of the President has been asked and obtained. The object of this letter is to communicate the same to you, and request of you to afford the delegation all the protection and countenance to which their respectable characters and philanthropic views entitle them. Most of the attempts at civilizing the Indians, which I have heard of, have been preposterous. We have aimed at teaching them religion and the sciences, before we have taught them the simple and essential labors of civil life.

I am very respectfully your most obedient servant, TIM. PICKERING."

The delegation proceeded to the Indian country, but found the chiefs, the hunters and warriors of the tribes with whom they desired to confer, much dispersed over the country, engaged in their various pursuits, and consequently were

unable to hold any communication with them collectively; under this disappointment they made their report to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

During the next Baltimore Yearly Meeting, the Indian Committee suggested, (in a report they made to that body, in which they alluded to the inability of their late mission to obtain an interview with the tribes whose improvement and preservation they desired,) "that if a notice of the intention of Friends was intimated to the Indians in a suitable manner, and they were requested to fix a time and place of meeting, a satisfactory conference might be obtained; as the disposition of such of them as they had had an opportunity of conversing with appeared favorable."

The report was dated 10th mo. 13th, 1796, and signed by EVAN THOMAS,
JOHN WILSON.

On the 15th of 10th month, 1796, the Committee on Indian Affairs was officially informed that the Yearly Meeting had made an addition to that Committee, by the appointment of Reese Cadwallader, Thomas Farquhar, Joel Wright, James Mendenhall, George Ellicott, and James M'Grew.

At the next meeting Joel Wright was appointed Clerk of the Committee, and no business presenting, adjourned.

At a meeting of the Indian Committee, held at Pipe Creek the 20th of 5th month, 1797, immediately after the conclusion of the Meeting for Sufferings, which convened at that place, a very serious consideration of the important charge entrusted to them impressed the minds of the Friends in attendance, and "Joel Wright expressed a willingness, if provided with suitable company to undertake a journey to the N. West of the river Ohio, for the purpose of furnishing the Committee with more full information respecting the situation and disposition of the Indians." The Committee approved his proposal, and he was left at liberty to make the journey.

The Committee on Indian Affairs met again on the 7th of Tenth month, 1797, and received a most interesting account from Joel Wright and the companions of his journey,—Reese Cadwallader and David Greaves,—of their visit to the Indian country, dated the 15th of Ninth month, 1797, from which communication the following extract was copied:*

"In the course of this journey, after having visited a number of Indian hunting camps and several of their towns, we had a large oppor-

* On a recent examination of the Records of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, in order to test the correctness of the abridgment now published, the incidents, dates and names were found to be exactly similar.

tunity to discover their present situation; often exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, with a very precarious and frequently a scanty supply of food and clothing. From the knowledge we have obtained of the extensive and valuable country they have lately given up to the United States, and of the narrow strip of land yet reserved for their own use, between the line of the American garrisons and from Detroit to the mouth of the Kentucky river, we were impressed with a belief that the Wyandots, Shawanese and Delawares who dwell there, will, unless they alter their present mode of living, be reduced, in a few years, from the scarcity of game, to a state of extreme want and distress."

At the upper end of Sandusky Town, they held a council with two of the principal chiefs of the Wyandot nation and several of their former warriors and young men, when Isaac Zane interpreted to them the address prepared by the Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. He also interpreted the reply of one of the Chiefs, which was brief but friendly.

They found that "the Wyandots were the principal nation; that everything of importance must be transacted in their council; they can transact business by themselves, but the Delawares and Shawanese have to apply to *them* when any business of consequence is laid before *their* people."

This reply of the Indians, was presented to

Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends with the Report of the Committee on Indian Concerns, and was published in the newspapers of the day.

Afterwards, at a meeting of the Indian Committee in Baltimore, the 16th of Eighth month, 1798, they received a letter from John Heckewelder, agent for the Moravian Society, representing the distressed condition of the Indians under his care, in consequence of their having been driven from their settlement on the Muskingum river, during the late war, and were now returning thereto in want of provisions and necessary implements of husbandry; whereupon Reese Cadwallader, Nathan Heald and Joel Wright were appointed "to inspect into the circumstances of those Indians, with liberty, if they shall believe it necessary, to afford them some assistance by furnishing them with such articles as they may be in immediate want of." This delegation reported to the Indian Committee, at a meeting held in Baltimore the 2d of Fourth month, 1799, in a communication bearing date, Redstone, Twelfth month 21st, 1798, and signed by Reese Cadwallader and Joel Wright. They had proceeded on their mission as far as Georgetown on the Ohio, sixty-five miles from Redstone, but ascertaining that John Heckewelder had lately gone to Bethlehem, and had procured the Indians under his charge a supply of provisions for the winter before his departure, and that the principal Indians of the

settlement were then dispersed, and at their hunting camps (no date given), they turned their attention to eight or ten families of other Indians of the Tuscaroras, who were very desirous of being instructed in farming, but were without agricultural implements, and were also in want of provisions; these they would have visited, in order to meet their "active men," who had invited them to an interview, but were prevented from doing so by the situation of the Ohio river, which was in flood, with vast masses of ice passing down it. They, however, left a supply for their relief with Thomas Smith, who lived near Georgetown, and also engaged a blacksmith to make them some farming utensils. Reese Cadwallader and Joel Wright, from all they had heard and seen on their journey, believed it would be right for the Indian Committee to send a deputation to the General Council of the Indians to be held the next spring.

The Committee on Indian Concerns met again on the 23d of Third month, 1799, being a special meeting; when a letter from Thomas Wistar, and a speech from the principal chief of the Wyandot nation, called Tarhie (the Crane), was read. This chief, in his speech, which was delivered at Detroit on behalf of the whole Wyandot nation, on the 8th day of September, 1798, reminds the Friends that they once met the Indians at a certain place "where a great many good things

were said and much friendship professed between them; that they had no place of security for their speeches, as their white brethren had, and that their belts of wampum were their only records;" and adds, "but, if you examine your books and papers, you will there find written all that passed between your forefathers and ours." He speaks further of a "belt of wampum given to us by your forefathers, with a piece of parchment affixed thereto; when you see the belt of wampum and read the writing on the parchment, you no doubt will then perfectly know us, and will consider us as brethren united by a chain of friendship which can never be broken whilst memory lasts." He informed the Friends that he understood some of them wished to pay his people a visit, and adds, "We are much pleased to hear that you still hold us in remembrance."

The letter of Thomas Wistar,* clerk of the Committee on Indian Concerns in Philadelphia, was dated 27th of Second month, 1799, and states that "the Miami nation had made a request of their Committee for some Friends to settle amongst them, and a speech from the Delawares left no doubt that a similar request

* Notwithstanding friendly relations continued ever after to be maintained between the Indian Committee of Philadelphia and that of Baltimore, the manuscripts I have overlooked furnish no account of further correspondence between them, until some years after the date of this letter of Thomas Wistar.

would be made from them;" that they had proceeded no further than to furnish the Miami's with two ploughs, a harrow, gears and other articles, but had no prospect of making an early settlement amongst them. Thomas Wistar mentions that he was informed by Jonathan Shefflin that the Wyandot speech was "in answer to a few lines left (and signed by two or three Friends) at their village," and supposes "it must have been the Friends of your Committee who were in that country, as from us none have been sent as yet amongst the nations west of the River Ohio." He concludes with the following caution to the Baltimore Committee: "We are aware that Indians very generally take as promises what may be suggested to them for their consideration, as probable to take place, if they unite with it; we have of late been very guarded in our communications with them, as the more we become acquainted with the Indian character the greater necessity we perceive for it."

On considering the speech of the Wyandot chief, the Baltimore Committee on Indian Concerns made an enlargement on their former appointment by the addition of Evan Thomas and George Ellicott, who were directed to co-operate with Reese Cadwallader, Joel Wright and Nathan Heald. They were desired to endeavor to visit those Indians in order to cultivate their friendship, and, if way should open, to offer them assistance.

A reply was also written and forwarded to the Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in part as follows:

"*Dear Friends*,—The correspondence has, on our part, been suspended till the account should be received from the Western Indians, which is now communicated by you; they probably conceiving that Friends, wherever situated, act as one body united. As the Friends of Pennsylvania have had a correspondence with them at times, from the first settlement of the country, and as they, in their present address, have alluded to former transactions, it seems the more necessary for us to apply to you for information on that head. We have been aware of our own inability at present to do any great matters, and have endeavored to guard against raising their expectations. A speech was some time ago communicated to some of the chiefs of the Wyandot nation, at the Upper Sandusky, with a view to inform them that we were desirous of turning their minds to some of the most simple arts of civil life; and we wished to know of them whether it would be agreeable to them to make such a movement. They informed us that they would lay the subject before their council and return an answer. A copy of the speech was left with them addressed to the chiefs of the Wyandot, Shawanese and Delaware nations, and of which we herewith hand you a copy also.

"We should have been pleased with the reception of the original speech of the Wyandot Chiefs and the belt of wampum they speak of, with a copy of that from the Delawares and Miamis, the latter being, we suppose, of the Shawanese nation. Five of our number are appointed to attend at Sandusky at the time of the great Indian Council, of which you will please inform the Superintendent,* and communicate such further information on the subject as you may conceive to be necessary. We also suggest the propriety and usefulness of your appointing a few Friends to unite in the visit, since the prudent conducting of the matter may be of great importance.

"As you are better acquainted than we are with the mode of conducting business with the Indians, if you think a belt of wampum will be necessary on our part, you will please to procure one for us suitable for the purpose, to be forwarded with the original speech and belt received by you, and we will remit the amount so soon as you advise us thereof.

"Signed on behalf of the Indian Committee of Baltimore, by

"JOEL WRIGHT, Clerk.

"BALTIMORE, Third month 24th, 1799."

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* The seat of Government of the United States had not then been removed to the City of Washington. The Superintendent resided in Philadelphia.

The deputation left their homes on the 7th of 5th mo. 1799, on horse-back and with pack horses to carry a tent, provisions for the journey which would be necessary after leaving the settlements of Friends in Ohio, and useful presents to the Indians. It may be as well to mention at this point, as the subject has not been alluded to before in this Appendix, that of all the missions we have referred to as sent out by the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, the Friends engaged in them travelled on horseback, and experienced privations which in this day of railroads and telegraphs cannot be appreciated. Valuable gifts for their Red brethren, their wives, and children, were never omitted on these occasions.

At the next meeting of the Indian Committee, which was held in Baltimore, the 15th and 16th of 10th month, 1799, the Friends who had been appointed to visit the Indians made their report, viz: "Pursuant to our appointment we sat out on a visit to the Indians, the 7th of 5th month last, and arrived the 3d of the next month at Upper Sandusky, the principal village of the Wyandots; we were met there by a friendly reception from Tarhie, (the Crane,) the head chief, and others of the nation who happened to be at the village."

On conferring with them they found that a mistake in translating their language had led to a misunderstanding respecting the time of hold-

ing the Grand Indian Council, which they now understood began every year at the full moon, in the 6th month; they were, therefore, too early in their visit, and with the impossibility of collecting the other Indians who would not be likely to assemble until the council, they concluded to hold a conference with Tarhie and the other chiefs then at Sandusky, in his house; and had a free conference with them on the subject of their visit. Their communication was kindly received, and an answer delivered on four strings of wampum, expressive of their gratitude for the care and friendship of the Quakers;* and as soon as the Grand Council met, they would communicate to it the concern the Friends now felt for their improvement, and inform us by a written speech of their conclusion thereon."

They conclude their report by remarking: "While we were at Sandusky and in other In-

*Tarhie continued ever after to devote himself to the improvement of his people, and lived to be the oldest Indian in the West. He had signed a treaty between the United States and the Indians as early as 1786, and although obliged by his warriors to take part in the revolt which soon after took place, and in the battles subsequently fought, he appears to have been the first to persuade the Indians to make a virtue of necessity, to "bury the hatchet," and yield to the superior power of the white men. He was cruelly executed by the order of Tecumseh, in 1810.

dian villages, our minds were often deeply affected under the sorrowful consideration of the baneful effect of spirituous liquors on them, being abundantly supplied with it in almost every village by Canadian traders residing among them; and we are confirmed in the opinion, that unless the traders can be restrained from furnishing them with this destructive article, in exchange for their skins and furs, they will not easily be persuaded to turn their minds towards agriculture and the useful arts. At the same time, we have no doubt that these unprincipled men will make use of the great influence they have over the Indians to keep them in their present mode of living, as most conducive to their own interests. Notwithstanding this cause of discouragement, the great affection which the Indians have always manifested for our Society, induces us to desire that Friends may endeavor to keep under the weight of the concern, and be prepared to proceed in the benevolent work before them, whenever the way may open for service among them.

Signed by

EVAN THOMAS,
JOEL WRIGHT,
REESE CADWALADER,
GEORGE ELLICOTT.

Dated Monongahela, 6th mo. 26th, 1779.

In the manuscript journal of George Ellicott to

the Plains of Sandusky, the following relation of the interview between the Friends and the Wyandot Chiefs is preserved :

"After Evan Thomas had concluded his discourse, which was delivered by paragraphs through an interpreter, Tarhie, (the Crane,) the principal chief, took into his hand four strings of wampum, and began his speech. As he proceeded, he continually kept the strings of wampum moving, and spoke in a methodical way, and with the force and manner of an orator. I make no doubt, if the interpreter had been able to do justice to the sentiments expressed, we should have pronounced a verdict highly in favor of the eloquence of this son of the forest.

After he had finished his speech, he desired his wife (who occupied an apartment above the council room, so situated that she could hear what passed), to hand down to him the papers, which he had; which she did. We read them, and found among them Wayne's treaty, and a long paper containing much good advice from the Secretary of War.

When the Indians hold a council, they have some of their principal women placed in a little room, either adjoining or overhead, where they can hear perfectly all that passes. This they treasure up in their minds, and as they are apt to have retentive memories, their traditions are faithfully preserved."

The manuscripts in my possession furnish no

record of the proceedings of the Indian Committee, from the reception of this report to the 17th of 4th month, 1801, when an account is given of a meeting, at which a committee was appointed to draft a letter to Tarhie, Buckingehelas, and other chiefs of the Wyandot and Delaware nations of Indians, in return for a letter and speech which had been received from them, which did not contain a full reply to the proposition made to the Indians in 1799. The committee supposed their communication had not been faithfully translated, and again inquired of their Red brethren: "Are you willing to have your children instructed at home, on your own lands, how to raise plenty of corn, to make clothes, and to build houses; to keep your old men, your women and children warm when the weather is cold; and that you may not suffer from want when the game gets scarce in your country?"

Signed by

GEORGE ELLICOTT,
JOEL WRIGHT,
ISRAEL JANNEY,
GOULDSMITH CHANDLEE.

Dated Baltimore, 4th month 17th, 1801.

At their next meeting the Indian Committee of Baltimore was informed by a communication from Joel Wright, that nothing had been received from the Indians since the last meeting, and no business was transacted.

The next meeting of the committee was a special one, and held at Pike Creek, the 24th of the 5th month, 1802. This meeting was called in consequence of a part of the committee having had a conference with a number of Indian chiefs in Baltimore. The chiefs were on their way to Washington, the seat of Government, and were waited on at their lodgings, the Fountain Inn, Light Street, by the members of the Indian Committee of Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, to confer with them on subjects of deep importance to their Red brethren, viz: the introduction into their tribes of some of the arts of civilized life, and to remonstrate against the use of spirituous liquors. The Baltimore members presented to the General Indian Committee the whole account of their conference, and the memorial they had presented to Congress against the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Indian settlements. As the account of the conference was published in several of the newspapers, I give the following extract from one of them:

"The editors having obtained a genuine copy of the proceedings of the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting of the respectable Society of Friends, in two conferences with the Indian Chiefs from the banks of the Wabash, Lake Erie, and Lake Michigan, being from the Pottowattomy, Miami, Delaware, Shawanese, Weas, Eel River, Piankashaw, Kickapoo

and Kaskaskia tribes of Indians, who lately passed through this city on their way to the Federal Government, feel no small degree of pleasure in having it in their power to gratify an inquisitive public with the interesting contents."

Besides the members of the Society of Friends, many respectable persons of different religious persuasions were present, and the communications were taken down with accuracy by Gerard T. Hopkins, a stenographer of great ability. William Wells, agent for the United States amongst the Indians North-west of the Ohio, was the interpreter. He was a native of Kentucky, and had been taken captive by the Miamis when only eight years of age,—had afterwards been adopted by one of the chiefs, and continued to reside amongst them. On this occasion he had attained his thirty-fifth year, and being possessed of good talents, not only spoke the language of the Tribes represented by the Little Turtle, the Five Medals, and other Indians present, but also the English language with fluency, and wrote well.

On the first interview of the committee with the Chiefs, which was on the 26th of the 12th month, 1801, the exercises commenced by the following short, but expressive address from Elisha Tyson, in whose house the Indian Delegation, the Indian Committee and their friends, were convened; he was not at the time a member of

the committee, but was interested in all philanthropic movements.

"Brothers and Friends: I am desirous in the early part of this opportunity, that you may be informed, that the people called Quakers consider all mankind as their brothers: that they believe the Great Spirit and Father of all mankind created all men of one blood; and that it is the will of Him, who also created the sun, the moon, and the stars, and causes them to give us light,—the Great Spirit and common Father of all mankind,—that we should not do one another hurt, but that we should do one another all the good we can; and it is on this ground, and this principle, that we believe it right to take you by the hand."

Then after a short time spent in silence, another member of the Society of Friends, John M'Kim, spoke, declaring "that the Quakers believed it required of them to love all men, without reference to location or complexion; that they were convinced it was not in their power to perform their religious duties to the Great Creator of all things without his assistance, and therefore felt it their duty, when entering upon such important business as that in which they were about to engage, to sit down in stillness and wait upon Him." After something more on this subject, and a reference to the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and Baltimore, he proceeded to say that "the Friends re-

membered the friendship which had subsisted between their Society and the Indians, from their first settlement in America; and recollecting that the Western country was fast filling up with white people, and that game would necessarily become scarce, they feared the Indians would be brought into a state of suffering. That, in consequence of the long wars that had subsisted between them and some of the white people, the Friends for a long time had not had an opportunity of taking them by the hand. That so soon as an opportunity had presented, after a peace was effected, a concern had arisen in their council, and several Friends were appointed to go out into the wilderness and have a talk with them. He then called upon the Friend who sat at his right hand, Evan Thomas, who had been one of the mission to the Plains of Sandusky, to give an account of the movement in this concern. Evan Thomas then gave a very concise relation of the journey, and the conference with the Wyandot Chiefs, (which has been before alluded to, and of which a narrative was published some years since by Philip E. Thomas,) and proceeded to inform the deputation that the Friends had received no response to the proposals then made to the Indians; but a belt of wampum and a speech had been sent them from a council held at Detroit, and an invitation to attend their General Council. After he had concluded, another member

of the Indian Committee, George Ellicott, addressed the chiefs as follows:

"Brothers and Friends: We were glad when we heard that some of our Red brethren were coming to this city, and felt our minds drawn to take them by the hand, and have an opportunity of knowing them. As we have not been made acquainted with their circumstances, we have not been able to judge whether any thing we have had to propose to do for them would be accepted? Whether they are really under the necessity of applying to some other mode of living to obtain a livelihood, and whether game in their country is yet plenty? We have thought, brothers, that if it should not yet be the case, that game is scarce, at the present time, it will probably be the case in some future time; and, therefore, we have thought it would be best for our Red brethren to give some attention to the cultivation of the soil. This is one of the subjects which has claimed our attention; and as we feel in our hearts that we love the Indians and desire their welfare, we wish to turn their attention to the subject; we also believe, brothers, that we derive a very great advantage from reading books which contain instruction, we wish that our brethren, the Indians, should partake of the same means of instruction with ourselves. We wish you to let us know with candor, whether you desire these things, and if you do so, that we may do for you whatever may be in our power."

After a short pause, the Little Turtle inquired if the Friends had any thing more to say, and being told that we were all willing to listen to him, he rose up and said:

"Brothers and Friends: My heart returns thanks to the Great Spirit above, that has put it in our power to speak to each other. My brother chiefs and myself are glad that our Friends and brothers, the Quakers, have such great compassion for their Red brethren." He then spoke of the belief of the Indians, "in one Great Creator of all the men upon the earth, and who were made when the earth, the sun, moon and stars were also made, to be useful to them and give them light." After referring to the desire of the Friends to benefit the Indians, and their need of that assistance, he added: "You have been kept in the straight path by the Great and Good Spirit. We have been led astray by inferior spirits: we now hope that we may come upon your track, and follow it." He then said "the long and destructive wars that have raged in the country of our Red brethren, since your fathers first came amongst them, have caused their numbers to be greatly diminished. Those that have come among us, have very much cheated and imposed upon us. They found us simple and ignorant, and have taken great care to keep every thing from us, in order to profit by our ignorance.

"Friends and Brothers,—We find you are now

disposed, with open arms to receive us, and we hope the Great Spirit will assist you, together with the Great Chief of the White People, to whom we are about to apply for help.

"Brothers and Friends,—At the Treaty of Grenville, which is now a little past six years, we received some presents by the hand of the Great War Chief of the Americans (General Wayne)—said to be sent to us by our brothers the Quakers. After this Treaty I was invited by the Great War Chief of the Americans to visit them. It is now four years since I visited them in Philadelphia, whilst the Great Council was held in that city. I had there an opportunity to see our brothers the Quakers, and received from their mouths some of their talks: all these talks I wrapped up in my heart, and when I returned home to my brothers I told them all those good things which you had told us you were desirous to do for us."

"Brothers and Friends,—I am happy to say that these my Red Brothers now present with me are Chiefs, who in their own country are equally great with myself; they were rejoiced to hear your words delivered to them through me four years ago; and they are equally glad with myself to hear from the mouths of our brothers the Quakers the same good words again. If we understand you right, you wish to add comfort to our women and children by teaching us and

them some of your ways of living. I am glad that the Great Spirit has put it into your hearts, and am sorry that your efforts have not yet been successful.

"Brothers and Friends,–I now assure you, that you hear the voice of the Potowatomy, Miami, Delaware, Shawanese, Weas, Eel River, Piankashaw, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia Tribes of Indians, and if you wish to do any thing for any of these nations we will at all times be ready to render any assistance in our power."

The Little Turtle then again alluded to the pleasure they had received from the words of the Friends of Philadelphia, and were equally pleased to hear the same good words from the Friends of of Baltimore. He then mentioned that the Friends of Philadelphia had given them some tools, among which were "two ploughs."* "I used them, and did all I could to keep them from wearing out; I was pleased with them; they now need repair; we have nobody among us that can mend them, and they are now useless to me." He then referred to a visit they had made to Philadelphia five days since, and the talks they had had together with the Quakers there, and concluded by inviting the Friends of Baltimore to meet the Indian tribes at their next Great Council, held annually at Fort Wayne, at the time the Indians receive their annuities from the United States;

* Alluded to in the letter of Thomas Wistar.

and requested that any information intended for them should be conveyed to them through their interpreter, William Wells, Indian agent at Fort Wayne.

After taking his seat, this chief appeared to have reflected that he had not answered fully the questions proposed to them, and rising again, said:

"Brothers and Friends: It is the real wish of your brothers, the Indians, to engage in the cultivation of our lands, and although the game is not yet so scarce but that we can get enough to eat, we know it is becoming scarce, and that we must begin to take hold of such tools as we see are in the hands of the white people." Afterwards he alluded in forcible language to the confidence which the Red men had in the Friends, and that they knew they desired no compensation for their services to them, and added, "Brothers, we are a jealously disposed people—almost every white man that comes among us endeavors to cheat us; this has occasioned jealousy among us. But your talks, brothers, are different, and we believe you."

The Five Medals then made a speech, in which he reiterated much that the Little Turtle had spoken, and continued: "Friends and Brothers, the talks that you have now delivered to us shall be carefully collected, wrapped up and put in our hearts,—we will not forget them. On our return home, we will have them com-

municated from the head to the mouth of the Wabash,—from this to the Mississippi, and up that river until it strikes the lakes, thence round by Michillimackanack until they come back again to the same place. What we say to you does not come from one, but from many, and what you have now said to us, you speak it to but a few, but it shall be communicated to many.

"Brothers and Friends, I observed to our friends, the Quakers of Philadelphia, five days ago, what I say now to you, that we wish our brothers, the Quakers, to render us those services they have proposed. We promise that nothing shall be wanting on our part to give aid to so desirable a thing in our country. Our situation at present will not admit of carrying such a plan so fully into execution as we could desire, but I hope you may not be prevented from making trial. If we had such tools as you make use of, and which add so much to your comfort—for we have been lost in wonder at what we have seen among you,—if we had these instruments, we should, I hope, be willing to use them.

. . . . . .

"From the great things, and astonishing wonders, which we have seen among you, and finding they all come out of the earth, it makes me anxious to try if I cannot get some for myself."

He then expressed his regret that the movements of the Friends towards the Indians had

not met with the success which they deserved, alluding to their having received no satisfactory reply from the Wyandots and Delawares, and concluded with observing, "There is a great deal, brothers, in having a good interpreter, and beginning at the right end of the business." [The Indian Committee who had had the interview with Tarhie, (the Crane,) and a few of his chiefs at Sandusky, were under the impression that their speech to the Indians was not clearly translated, of which a hint had been given, and hence the remarks of the Five Medals.]

Here the interview with the Indians closed.

After reflecting on the subject of their conference with the Indian Chiefs, the members of the Indian Committee regretted that they had not made use of that opportunity to express their opinion on the subject of the use of spirituous liquors. Another meeting of the Committee and their friends was accordingly called, and the chiefs were invited to attend. They met again at the dwelling of Elisha Tyson. After a brief representation of the reason for another interview given by a friend, Evan Thomas addressed the chiefs in a forcible communication, which was full of feeling; after assuring them that the love he felt for the Indians, and his interest in their welfare, had taken away all fear of giving them offence, he proceeded to acknowledge what he had witnessed in his visit to the Wyandot Nation, and his belief that the too

frequent use of spirituous liquors was more in the way of their improvement than anything else, and appealed to them thus: "Are you of the same mind with us who are your friends, and have your good at heart; that it would be right for us to take the subject into our serious consideration, to endeavor to discover whether there may not be some steps taken that would put a check upon this pernicious thing?"

After calling upon the chiefs to express themselves freely in regard to the concern, the Little Turtle inquired if any of his brothers, the Quakers, had any further communication to make, and being desired to proceed, rose up and said: "Brothers and Friends, I am happy to find it has pleased the Great Spirit, that we should again meet in the same house in which we held our council yesterday. I am happy to find that it is the will of the Great and Good Spirit that we should discover that there was something omitted yesterday, that was highly necessary for your red brethren.

"Friends and brothers, I am glad to find that it has pleased the Great Spirit to put a wish in your hearts on the subject you have mentioned; a subject of the greatest importance to us. What you have said relative to our being one flesh and blood is true. Your brothers, the Indians, believe that it is in this light the Great Spirit considers all mankind." He afterwards remarked, that the Indians had long been aware

of the great evils which had 'raged' in their country, but could obtain no redress; that since the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, their numbers were greatly diminished, and taking advantage of the request which had been made, that they should express themselves freely, added: "I will now take the liberty to mention, that most of the evils existing among the Red people, have been caught from the white people; not only that liquor which destroys us daily, but many diseases that our forefathers were ignorant of, before they saw you.

. . . . . .

"Brothers and Friends:—I am glad you have seen this business as we do, and rejoice to find that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us, to remove this great evil out of our country; an evil that has had so much ruin in it,—that has destroyed so many of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, 'We had better be at war with the white people.' This liquor that they introduce into our country, is more to be feared than the gun or the tomahawk; there are more of us dead since the treaty of Grenville, than we lost by the years of war before, and it is all owing to the introduction of this liquor among us. This subject, brothers, composes a part of what we intend to make known to the Great Council of our White brethren. On our arrival there, we shall endeavor to explain to our Great

Father, the President, a great many evils that have arisen in our country, from the introduction of this liquor by the white traders.

"Brothers and Friends: In addition to what I have before observed of this great evil in the country of your red brethren, I will say further, that it has made us poor. It is this liquor that causes our young men to go without clothes, and our women and children to go without anything to eat, and sorry I am to mention now to you, brothers, the evil is increasing every day, as the white settlers come nearer to us, and bring those kettles they boil that stuff in they call whiskey, of which our young men are so extremely fond. Brothers, when our young men have been out hunting, and are returning home loaded with skins and furs, on their way, if it happens that they come along where some of this whiskey is deposited, the White man who sells it, tells them to take a little drink; some of them will say no, I do not want it; they go on until they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink; it is there again offered, they refuse, and again the third time; but finally the fourth or fifth time, one accepts of it and takes a drink, and getting one, he wants another, and then a third, and fourth, till his senses have left him. After this, reason comes back to him; when he gets up and finds where he is, and asks for his peltry, the answer is, you have drank them. Where is my gun? It is

gone. Where is my blanket? It is gone. Where is my shirt? You have sold it for whiskey! Now, brothers, figure to yourselves what a condition this man must be in; he has a family at home, a wife and children, who stand in need of the profits of his hunting, what must their wants be, when he himself is also without a shirt." After expressing his hope that the Great Spirit would aid the Friends in their efforts to assist the Indians, and that they would use any influence they possessed with the great council of the United States on their behalf, and again alluding to the baneful effects of spirituous liquors, and the bad advice of wicked men who wished to keep them in ignorance, he finished by declaring that he desired all that he had said should be made public, provided the Friends had no objection thereto.

The Five Medals then rose and said:—"My Brothers and Friends: I have nothing to say on the subject we have now been talking over. My friend, the Little Turtle, has given you a full answer to those things you have mentioned to us; we are but one people, and have but one voice. We hope, brothers, that your friendship and ours may never be broken."

Evan Thomas, then addressed them again as follows:—"Friends and Brothers: What you have communicated at this time, has been clearly understood, and we are glad to find we see things in the same light that you see them.

The several matters you have mentioned, and the difficulties you have stated, claim our sympathy and solid consideration, and we shall, I trust, take the subject up, and if way should open for us to move forward, in aiding you in your application to the General Government, we shall be willing, either on this occasion, or any other, to render you any service in our power." The conference then broke up, and the Indian Committee prepared and forwarded to the Congress of the United States, the following memorial.

"*To the Congress of the United States:*

"The memorial of the Committee appointed for Indian affairs by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Baltimore, respectfully represents:

"That a concern to introduce amongst some of the Indian tribes north-west of the river Ohio, the most simple and useful arts of civil life, being several years since laid before our Yearly Meeting, a Committee was appointed by that body, to visit them, to examine their situation, and endeavor to ascertain in what manner so desirable a purpose could be effected. A part of that Committee, after having obtained the approbation of the President of the United States, proceeded to perform the service assigned them, and the result of their enquiries and observations, as reported to the Yearly Meeting, was, that the quantity of spirituous liquors with

which the Indians are supplied, by traders, and frontier settlers, must counteract the effect of every measure, however wise and salutary, which can be devised to improve their situation.

"The truth of this assertion is abundantly confirmed by a speech made before us, by a Miami chief, the Little Turtle, (of which we herewith transmit a copy for your consideration,) and we also acknowledge our belief, that the evil is of such magnitude, that unless it can be altogether removed or greatly restrained, no rational hope of success in the proposed undertaking can be entertained. We are therefore induced to solicit the attention of the National Legislature to this interesting and important subject; a subject which we consider involves, not only their future welfare, but even their very existence as a people.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee, by

Evan Thomas, John M'Kim,
Elias Ellicott, Joel Wright,
John Brown, George Ellicott,
David Brown.

Baltimore, 1*st month*, 1802."

These Friends soon after repaired to the seat of government, presented their memorial to Congress, and were gratified by the passage of the law, which they so much desired. Whilst in Washington they waited on the Secretary of

War. The law passed by Congress, authorized the President of the United States "to take such measures from time to time, as to him may seem expedient, to prevent or restrain the vending or distributing of spirituous liquors, among all or any of the Indian tribes."

On the subject of civilization the law states "that in order to promote civilization amongst the friendly Indian tribes, and to secure the continuance of their friendship, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to cause them to be furnished with useful domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, and with goods or money as he shall judge proper, and to appoint such persons from time to time, as temporary agents to reside amongst the Indians, as he shall think fit; provided that the whole amount of such presents and allowance to such agents shall not exceed fifteen thousand dollars per annum."

The Committee reported their progress to a general meeting of the Committee on Indian concerns, which was held in Baltimore, 13th of 10th month, 1802,* and informed them of the conferences which had been held with the Indian chiefs; the chiefs of those nations whom Balti-

*During the session of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. The general meeting of the Indian Committee, of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, in consequence of the remote residence of some of the members, met once a year.

more Yearly Meeting had it in contemplation to visit. Their report presented the speeches of the chiefs, the memorial of the Committee to Congress, a copy of the law passed by Congress, and an account of their interview with the Secretary of War, with the information received from him. The War department at this period of the government of the United States had the care of Indian affairs, and the Secretary informed the Friends that, agreeably to the request of the Indians, the government had established a trading house at Fort Wayne, that they were in want of several persons of our Society; blacksmiths, carpenters, and superintendents, men that could make and mend ploughs, looms, farming utensils, &c., and wished to employ such as were of exemplary conduct, and concerned for the promotion of the work in prospect; to such the United States offered a liberal compensation."

At the next meeting which was held in Baltimore the 7th of 2d month, 1803, the Committee on Indian Concerns agreed to make the following application to the Meeting for Sufferings of Baltimore Yearly Meeting:

"We of the Committee on Indian affairs appointed by Baltimore Yearly Meeting, impressed with an idea of the importance of our appointment, and with a full persuasion, that the situation of our business requires speedy attention, as the obstructions that have heretofore prevented

Friends from moving forward, in extending to the Western Indians the benefits some years ago contemplated by the Yearly Meeting, are now removed, and considering the distant situation of many of our members from each other, and the difficulty and even impracticability of obtaining a general meeting; we have been induced to believe it right to submit the subject to the consideration of the Meeting for Sufferings for their cordial sympathy and advice, and if they may believe it right, for their co-operation also. Signed by

Evan Thomas,	Moses Dillon,
John M'Kim,	Jonathan Wright,
David Brown,	George Ellicott,
Elias Ellicott,	Joel Wright."

The Meeting for Sufferings entered cordially into sympathy with the members of the Indian Committee in their benevolent enterprise, and they were encouraged to appoint a Committee to procure agricultural, and other useful implements, and have them conveyed in seasonable time to Fort Wayne.

The Committee on Indian concerns met again in Baltimore the 10th of 10th month, 1803, and drew up a report for Baltimore Yearly Meeting; in which they related that in consequence of information received from the Western Indians, and the prohibition by the President of the United States of the sale of spirituous liquors

amongst them, "the Committee had been impressed with the belief that the time for an earnest commencement of the benevolent intentions of the Yearly Meeting had arrived; they had accordingly purchased for the use of those Indians" agricultural implements of various kinds "which were sent in packages to Pittsburg, from whence they were to be immediately conveyed to Fort Wayne, and delivered as a present from the Society of Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, to the Little Turtle, and other chiefs; to be disposed of by them, to such of their people as they knew were desirous of using them." They also reported that they had had some correspondence with William Wells, the Indian agent at Fort Wayne, but had not yet heard of the arrival of the agricultural implements at their destination. William Wells had replied to their enquiries on behalf of the Indians, and informed them as his opinion, that "the suppression of liquors in that country is the best thing that has ever been done for the Indians, by the United States; that within a year, not one Indian had been killed; whilst there had never been a year before since the treaty of Grenville in which there were less than ten killed, and some years as many as thirty."

The report was signed on behalf of the Committee, by Evan Thomas, Joel Wright, and James Mendenhall.

To this report a postscript was added, that in

consequence of the decease of some of the first members of the Indian Committee (their names, however, not given,) and a distant situation and other causes preventing the attendance of many, "it was believed a benefit might arise from the discontinuance of the present Committee, and the appointment of another."

Their report was read, and their request for a new Committee considered at Baltimore Yearly Meeting, held by adjournments from the 10th day of 10th month, to the 14th of the same inclusive, 1803; and at the next meeting of the members of the Committee, on the 14th of 10th month, 1803, a minute of the Yearly Meeting informed them of the appointment of the following Friends to constitute a Committee on Indian Affairs; they were desired by the minute of their appointment, "to pay such attention to the interesting concern as they may be enabled to render," to wit:

Evan Thomas,	Isaac Tyson,
Joel Wright,	Israel Wilson,
Elisha Tyson,	Henry Mills,
Edward Stabler,	Jonas Cattell,
George Ellicott,	David Greave,
Jonathan Wright,	Elias Ellicott,
Gerard T. Hopkins,	Jonathan Ellicott,
John Ellicott,	Benjamin Ellicott,
Asa Moore,	Philip E. Thomas,
Caleb Bently,	Thomas Moore,
William Kirk,	Samuel Snowden,

Wm. Stabler, of Sandy Spring.

Immediately after their organization Philip E. Thomas was appointed Secretary, and Elias Ellicott Treasurer of the Indian Committee. Philip E. Thomas continued to perform the duties of Secretary to the Committee, with untiring zeal and ability, from the date of his appointment to the time of his decease, which took place the 1st day of 9th month, 1861, Elias Ellicott had been Treasurer of the Indian Committee from the period of its origin in the year 1795. After this reappointment he continued faithfully to perform the trust confided to him, until his decease in 10th month, 1827.

At the next meeting of the Committee on Indian affairs, held the 6th of 2d month, 1804, a letter was received from the Little Turtle, and the Five Medals, Miami, and Wyandot chiefs, which resulted in the appointment of a delegation to visit them, of whom Gerard T. Hopkins and George Ellicott alone performed the service.

The Friends who accomplished this journey together have now for many years been numbered with the dead. George Ellicott departed this life the 9th of 4th month, 1832, aged 72 years, and Gerard T. Hopkins died nearly two years afterwards on the 27th of 3d month, 1834, in the 66th year of his age.

Philip Dennis, who accompanied them to Fort Wayne with the intention of instructing the Indians in agriculture, faithfully performed

the duty, so far as he alone was concerned. The Little Turtle had in one of his interviews with the Friends told them "our young men are not so much disposed to be industrious as we could desire." Philip Dennis found this representation of them fully verified in his experience. After he had, with some assistance from the Indians, enclosed his plantation with a rude fence, only one, or at the most two of the red men evinced any disposition to labor. They would take a seat either on the fence, or in the trees, near the premises, and watch him with apparent interest in his daily engagement of ploughing and hoeing, but without offering to lend a helping hand. He found the land very fertile, and raised a large crop of corn and other products, which, after gathering into a storehouse he built for the purpose in the autumn, he left in charge of some of the neighboring chiefs for a winter supply for the necessitous members of the tribes for whom he had labored, and returned to his home at Ellicott's Mills.

Philip Dennis lived some years afterwards, a respectable member of the Society of Friends, and died on his farm in Montgomery County, Maryland.

The promise made at the commencement of the foregoing brief history of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, from its appointment in 1795 to 1804, has thus been

performed, and the limits I had prescribed for this Appendix have been already exceeded; but the very interesting character of the concern induces me (before producing a copy of the Treaty of Grenville, which from its influence on the condition of the Indian Tribes ought to be presented to the reader) to add the following account.

From the last meeting of the committee, as above related, in 1804, to the commencement of the war with Great Britain, the affairs of the Indians continued to increase in importance, and their friends were frequently flattered with the hope of a successful and permanent settlement of the Tribes, to whom the United States under certain conditions had guaranteed their lands, in the neighborhood of the Lakes. Philanthropists, not only in our own country, but, also, of the more enlightened European nations, continued to accord to the efforts of the Friends of this country the meed of their approbation, and from members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, the Indian Committees of Philadelphia and Baltimore received donations of money, paid to them in two instalments of several thousand dollars each, to be applied to the improvement of the condition of the Indians, which greatly increased their opportunities of usefulness; to these donations was afterwards added a bequest from a friend of Ireland, of much less

amount, it is true, but, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the cause of humanity.

Portions of these different sums of money were faithfully applied, with those collected from their own members, in giving encouragement to the civilization of the Indians; in the promotion of a good system of agriculture; in supporting schools; in building small mills for grinding Indian corn, and in endeavoring to discountenance the hard servitude of their women.

On the establishment of the Yearly Meeting of Ohio, in 1813, which had originally formed a part of that of Baltimore, the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting faithfully divided the money remaining on hand, with the Indian Committee of Ohio Yearly Meeting, to be applied in accordance with the instructions received for its expenditure; but the unsettlement produced in the neighborhood of the Canadian frontier, by the war with the British nation, produced its effect on the friendly tribes, and, after much consultation among themselves, and repeated visits of Chiefs to Washington, they concluded to cede all the lands to which they had any title, in Ohio, to the United States, and remove further west. This was in 1817.* "The Indians were at their option to remain on the ceded lands, subject to the laws of the State or country."

* Emma Willard's American Republic.

Recollections of the Little Turtle and other Indians.

The Little Turtle, with several other Chiefs, spent two days at Ellicott's Mills, during Christmas week of 1807, attended by Wm. Wells, the United States Agent for Fort Wayne, as interpreter. They had been to Washington on business, had had an interview with the Indian Committee in Baltimore, and were returning home through the State of Maryland.

George Ellicott called to see them soon after their arrival, and gave them an invitation to dine the next day, at his house, which was not far distant from the hotel where they lodged. The delegation was composed of the following persons:—The Little Turtle and Rusheville, Chiefs of the Miami nation; the Beaver and Crow of the Delawares; two Shawanese Chiefs, and Marpau and the Raven, Chiefs of the Potowatomies; of the two last named each was accompanied by his wife. All accepted the invitation but Marpau, who positively declined both for himself and his wife. He was of a very warlike disposition, and the brother of Tecumseh, and the Prophet, who, in 1811, openly revolted from their allegiance to the United States, and were the cause of much bloodshed on the Canadian frontier. Already the spirit of disaffection had taken hold of his mind; he refused to wear any article of clothing manufactured by the

white people, and was by no means reserved in his expressions of hatred toward the whole race, who, he maintained, had violently wrested from them all their most valuable possessions. Nor did he hesitate to express his determination, with aid of his two powerful brothers, to regain all the lands which had originally belonged to them, after putting to death all those who now occupied them.

In order to give him favorable impressions of the power of the Federal government, and relieve his mind of the idea of taking up arms against it, the other members of the delegation, all friendly Indians except himself and the Raven, had persuaded him to make the journey, hoping he would discover, as he passed along, so many evidences of the strength of the people he professed to despise, as to be induced to prefer peace to war, on any terms. No favorable change, however, had been the result. He had refused every civility tendered him while in Washington, remaining shut up with his wife, in his apartments, while all the rest of his companions partook of every enjoyment offered them. He had refused to meet the Indian Committee in Baltimore, (but was afterwards induced to do so,) and remained in the same mood on his arrival at Ellicott's Mills; and although George Ellicott assured him he could promise him a welcome and kind treatment at his house, he still declined. The Little Turtle endeavored to

change his purpose; rallied him on his obstinacy, ill-humor and laziness, and told him he was too large a man to give so poor a display of Indian politeness, and that he would return to his home in the same state of ignorance in which he had left it; but all to no purpose. He bore the raillery with apparent good humor, but remained unmoved. Marpau was of very large stature, and in the prime of manly vigor. His dress was entirely made up of the skins of wild animals, which had been killed by his own hands.

Having heard so much of the Little Turtle, I determined to be present when he and the other Chiefs were introduced at the house, where they were to be entertained as guests. He was the first to enter the parlor, and bowed gracefully as he was introduced to the family, and made a short address, in which he acknowledged the pleasure it afforded him thus to meet the wife and children of a friend to whom he felt obliged, and of whom he entertained the highest opinion.

The interpreter then introduced the rest of the party, who shook hands, and took their seats. Afterwards a pleasant conversation took place between the Miami Chiefs, the Interpreter, and some of the residents of the village, in which the Indians drew a comparison between savage and civilized life, and in favor of civilization. The Little Turtle was anxious to have a flour

mill erected in his town, and appeared earnestly desirous of promoting the improvement of his people. The Shawanese, the Raven and his wife, and the Beaver and Crow listened in silence.

The dress and mantle of the Raven bore a close resemblance to those worn by Marpau, and were of similar material. He was esteemed the greatest hunter of the Potowatomies, and occasionally visited the Rocky Mountains in pursuit of game, and on his last excursion to that distant range, had killed a grizzly bear of immense weight and size, whose skin, dressed with the claws and teeth attached, he wore on this occasion, thrown over his shoulders. His face was painted; the cheeks and forehead black, and across one of his cheeks was a heavy dash of vermillion, which looked like a deep and gaping flesh wound. His hair, which was thick and coarse, was cut about six inches long in front, and hung about his face, but was its full length behind, and tied in several places with bands of buckskin, and powdered with red paint; and he wore on the top of his head, a small coronet of eagle's feathers. Attached to an embroidered belt hung his tobacco pouch, made of the entire skin of a beaver, and by its side his tomahawk and scalping knife.

With his large and muscular proportions, accompanied by the disfigurements of the paint, he was only saved from the appearance of a bar-

barous and unrelenting savage, by a countenance expressive of the utmost good humor.

The wife of the Raven was a young and handsome woman, of a modest and downcast expression. She did not seem to entertain the prejudices against civilized manufactures, which existed in her husband's mind, and wore a blue cloth habit, though made in Indian style; a hat, covered with braided ribbon, feathers of different sorts, and tinsel ornaments. Her moccasins were beautifully embroidered with moose hair, interspersed with plaited rows of porcupine's quills; her necklace was made of several rows of beads of many colors, and her ear ornaments, which were drooping, and hung nearly down to her shoulders, were also of beads; and she wore, wrapped around her person, a fine Makinaw blanket.

The Little Turtle and Rusheville, the Beaver and Crow, and the two Shawanese, were dressed in a costume usually worn by our own citizens of the time: coats of blue cloth, gilt buttons, pantaloons of the same color, and buff waistcoats; but they all wore leggings, moccasins, and large gold rings in their ears. The Little Turtle exceeded all his brother Chiefs in dignity of appearance—a dignity which resulted from the character of his mind. He was of medium stature, with a complexion of the palest copper shade, and did not wear paint. His hair was a full suit, and without any admixture of grey,

although from what he said of his age, at Fort Wayne, in 1804, being then fifty-three, he must at this time have been fifty-seven years old. His dress was completed by a long, red, military sash around the waist, and his hat (a chapeau bras) was ornamented by a red feather. Immediately on entering the house, he took off his hat, and carried it under his arm during the rest of the visit. His appearance and manners, which were gracefnl and agreeable, in an uncommon degree, were admired by all who made his acquaintance.

When seated at table they seemed to enjoy the repast which was set before them. A large dish of hominy—a national dish with the Indians—had with a variety of other dishes been served up, especially in reference to their tastes, and was very acceptable to them. The Raven, on taking his seat, immediately pointed it out to his wife, who sat at his side, and spoke for the first time since his entrance, to request to be helped bountifully to the hominy, having seen nothing he liked so well since he had left the woods.

The visit ended very agreeably; the deputation shook hands with the Friends who had entertained them, and returned to their hotel. They found Marpau and his wife quietly seated by the fireside, but soon understood they had just returned from a walk, having passed the

day on the hills, and in the fields on the banks of the Patapsco.

We were told that they spent a part of the day seated upon the rocks, contemplating the scenery before them; they were afterwards attracted to a point where hickory nuts and persimmons were abundant, and the Chief was seen climbing the trees, and gathering the persimmons and nuts, and throwing them down to his wife, who seemed fond of them. Thus, they had passed the day, and looked refreshed thereby.

Both Marpau and the Raven, whilst on their journey, were careful to present themselves, on all occasions, where there was a chance of their being seen, painted and adorned in their most approved style. Thus, while in Washington and Baltimore, although in comparative retirement, as he did not go out, Marpau was said to spend two or three hours daily, in the duties of the toilet, painting his face, dressing his hair, and arranging his appearance, by a small mirror, held up before him by his wife, who stood near him for the purpose, pronouncing occasionally on the effect produced, and giving instructions. Similar attentions were conferred by the wife of the Raven on her husband, but as he was of lower rank, and rather older than Marpau, his toilet was less elaborate, and occupied less time.

The next day after this ramble, the Potawotamies all went together to visit the places where Marpau and his wife had walked the day before.

The other Indians, with the interpreter, examined all the objects of interest in the neighborhood. They had begun to be aware of the importance of mechanical operations, and spoke with as much approbation as an Indian ever speaks of things which he admires, of the ingenuity exhibited in the flour and paper mills. The next day all the deputation left for their homes in the west.

About a week subsequent to their departure, a member of the Indian Committee on passing by the hotel at Ellicott's Mills, saw the western public stage arrive with a party of Indians and their interpreter, and was much surprised to find among them the Delaware Chief, the Beaver. The Beaver, according to the statement of the, interpreter, had left his party at Cumberland, and had joined the present deputation in order to present the grievances of his nation to the attention of the President of the United States. For several years their annuities, both as regarding goods and money, had been badly paid, and during his recent visit to Washington, William Wells had uniformly objected to allude to the subject, under various pretexts. The Beaver thought there was something wrong somewhere, and was determined to seek redress. The interpreter asked advice of the Friend who met him at the hotel, and was encouraged to make a faithful statement of the wrongs done to the Delaware

tribe. An investigation was made in Washington by the President's orders.

William Wells was found to be a defaulter to a large amount, and was discharged from the agency at Fort Wayne; he shortly after went to live in Canada, and in 1811, joined the party of Tecumseh and the Prophet, in their warfare against the United States, very contrary to the desires of the Little Turtle, who with his allies had remained deaf to all the arguments of Tecumseh, loyal to the government of the United States, and faithful in his friendship to his friends the Quakers.

William Wells after a short residence in Canada, was taken prisoner by the Indians whom he had defrauded in his agency, and was put to death with great barbarity. The Little Turtle had died a short time before, of an attack of the gout in the chest.

The following matters of interest in the history of the Indians, together with the copy of the Treaty of Greeneville, has been kindly furnished from the records of Washington, by a gentleman of that city.

"The treaty of Grenville* was concluded on the 3d day of August, 1795, at the Head Quar-

*The treaty purports to have been made at "Greeneville," but the place is frequently, perhaps most generally, written "Grenville.

ters of General Anthony Wayne, commanding the army of the United States, northwest of the Ohio, between that officer, acting as Commissioner for the United States, and the Sachems, Chiefs and warriors of twelve tribes of Indians. The treaty was mainly the result of a victory obtained by General Wayne over the Indians in a battle fought the previous year, near the Maumee* river, and terminated the hostilities which for nearly twenty years had been carried on between the Indians, northwest of the Ohio, and the white settlers in Kentucky and western Virginia. Sundry abortive efforts had been made by the government to procure peace. Partial treaties were entered into, which had no effect in restraining the great body of the tribes, and several military expeditions, which had been sent into their country to subdue them, met with disasters, and by their failure only strengthened the Indians. In April, 1793, three Commissioners, with ample powers, were sent to negotiate a treaty, and were intrusted to offer much better terms than were afterwards granted the Indians by the treaty of Greeneville. In the instructions given them it was stated, "that the Society of Friends had, with the approbation of the President of the United States, decided to send some of their respectable members in order to contribute their influence to induce the hostile Indians to

*At the time of the treaty called the Miami of the Lake.

a peace," but I do not find from the Journal of the Commissioners that any Friends attended.

The negotiation failed. The Indians insisted upon the removal of the white settlements and Forts from the country northwest of the Ohio, which the Commissioners refused to accede to, maintaining the claims of the United States to certain portions of the country under treaties from other tribes who were believed competent to make title to it.

By the treaty of Greeneville the Indians ceded to the United States a tract of country comprising about twenty five thousand square miles, or sixteen million acres, some of which however was included in previous grants from other tribes. They also ceded sixteen smaller tracts as sites for Forts, trading stations, &c. They received in consideration of the cession, twenty thousand dollars in goods, and permanent annuities amounting to eleven thousand dollars; $9,500 in goods delivered, the cost of delivery and distribution being $1,500. The annuities, at 5 per cent. represents a capital of $220,000; thus the entire payment would be $240,000 for 16,000,000 acres of land, or one cent and a half per acre.

The annuities of several of the tribes commenced at once, and are still paid regularly under the treaty of Greeneville, and they receive additional annuities under other treaties. Indeed all the tribes who were parties to the treaty of Greeneville, received regular annuities

from the Government, but I have not been able to trace in them the specific amounts granted by that treaty.

Mem. of the terms of the Treaty.

PREAMBLE: that the treaty is to end a destructive war, settle all controversies, and restore harmony, &c.

ART. 1. Peace re-established.

ART. 2. Prisoners on both sides to be restored.

ART. 3. Indians cede all lands east of a line running from the mouth of the Cuyahoga, irregularly, to the Ohio opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky river. And cede 16 specified tracts. And free passage to the whites through certain routes through their country.

ART. 4. The U. S. relinquish all land west of the boundary, except 150,000 acres granted General Clarke; the post of Vincennes; the French settlement on the Illinois, &c.; and Fort Massoe, and give $20,000 in goods and annuities, amounting to $9,500.

ART. 5. Indians to be protected in the occupation of their lands as reserved to them; but to sell only to the U. States.

ART. 6. Indians may expel settlers from their lands.

ART. 7. Indians may hunt on lands ceded to the U. S., [until settled.]

ART. 8. Trade to be conducted by licensed traders.

ART. 9. Neither party to retaliate injuries, but offenders to be punished by their own government, and Indians are to give notice of hostile designs.

ART. 10. All other treaties within the of this treaty cancelled.

The following tribes were parties to the treaty of Greeneville; the figures prefixed to the name of each tribe shows the number of chiefs representing it, and proves that at the date of the treaty, the Indians were a numerous people, viz:

10 Wyandots,	17 Delawares,
9 Shawanese,	7 Ottawas,
11 Chippewas,	24 Potowatamies,
5 Miamis,	3 Eel-river,
3 Weas,	3 Kickapoos,
3 Piankashaws,	3 Kaskaskias.

For the United States, Anthony Wayne was sole Commissioner.

The witnesses were:

H. DeButts, Aid and Sec'y to Gen. Wayne;
W. H. Harrison, afterwards President of the U. S., Aid to Gen. Wayne;
J. Lewis, Aid to Gen. Wayne;
James O'Hara, Quarter Master General;
John Mills, Major, &c.;
Caleb Soran, P. M. G. U. S.;
George Demter, Lieutenant, &c.;

Vigo, [an old French settler—a very remarkable man];
P. La Fontaine,
Ant. Lasselle,
Jno. Beaubien,
David Jones, C. U. S. A.;
Lewis Beaufait,
R. Lachambor,
James Pepen,
Baties Contien,
P. Navarre;
Wm. Wells, Sonora, Interpreter;
Jacques Lasselle, do.;
M. Morins, do.;
Bt. Sansfrainte, do.;
Christopher Miller, do.;
Robert Wilson, do.,
Abraham Williams, do.;
Isaac Zane, do.

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